



CHARLES GRANT

*DIRECTOR OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY
AND MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT*

BY

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CHARLES GRANT

FROM A.D. 1746 TO A.D. 1828

Who is the best man?
He that doth still a better good pursue
To God, his neighbour, and a self most true."

George Herbert

CLAPHAM is a suburb of the great city of London. During the last decade of the eighteenth century it was a pleasant and retired country village, at or near which some of the notable men of that day resided. Let us imagine ourselves on a fine summer afternoon—let us say July 12, 1798—to be present in a spacious oval room at the back of one of the houses situated on the south side of an open grassy space, called Clapham Common. This room was built by Mr. Henry Thornton, the owner of the house, at the suggestion of William Pitt, then Prime Minister of England. It is called the Oval Library. The walls are lined with shelves full of books: and from the table, where three gentlemen are sitting engaged in earnest conversation, there can be seen through the rounded bay-window, the trim, green lawn, surrounded by elms, fir trees, and shrubberies, presenting a calm, peaceful, and attractive scene. These three gentlemen are William Wilberforce, Henry Thornton, and Charles Grant. They are busy discussing a question in which they are all deeply interested. This important question is the abolition of the slave-trade which was then permitted in the English Colonies, though, chiefly by the exertions of Mr. Wilberforce, nobly

seconded by his friends, Englishmen were beginning to awaken to the infamy and the impolicy of such means for carrying on the labour needed in their plantations. Mr. Henry Thornton was one of Mr. Wilberforce's dearest friends, who, more perhaps than any one else, strengthened his hands in this righteous cause. Mr. Charles Grant was another of his intimate friends, who also rendered him essential service in this respect. He was a tall, blue-eyed Scotchman, who had served his country for several years in India, and had been, for rather more than four years, a Director of the East India Company, and was then living in the house adjoining Mr. Thornton's. He was in the fifty-third year of his age. We propose to write a brief sketch of his life, because he did so much for the benefit of the people of India that we think they ought to know the principal events in which he was concerned, and that they should carefully cherish his memory.

Charles Grant was the eldest son of a Highland gentleman, named Alexander Grant, belonging to the Crinan branch of the clan of that name. He was born in March, 1746, at Aldourie, which is beautifully situated on the southern shore of Loch Ness, whither his mother had gone to stay with her parents, who at that time resided there. Those were the days when Prince Charles Edward raised his standard in the Highlands of Scotland, and Mr. Grant's father with his followers espoused his cause. A short time before the decisive battle of Culloden, Alexander Grant, being in the neighbourhood, went to the christening of his little son, accompanied by thirty of his friends, and a very weird and picturesque scene took place on that occasion. They named him Charles after Charles Edward Stuart; and, drawing their swords, they crossed and clashed them over the baby's cradle, thus enlisting him under the banner of the Prince.

A few weeks after this, Alexander Grant was severely wounded at Culloden. As was the case with most of Prince Charles Edward's followers, he remained several months in concealment, hiding in woods and caves, and

when, in the following year, he was able to return to his home, he found his property ruined, and, notwithstanding his utmost exertions, he could not retrieve his affairs. He struggled on for nine years, and then he joined a Highland regiment which the Government was raising for service in America, where he died after the siege of Havana in 1762. He had successfully defended a fort there; but afterwards died of fever, and his family did not hear of his death for some time.

Meanwhile, his departure left his wife in sole charge of five children with very scanty means. She was a lady of great firmness as well as sweetness and piety, and admirably fitted for the task; but she died about two years after her husband had left her. The children were taken care of by several relations, but the one who did most for them was John Grant, their father's younger brother, who was himself very badly off, having an appointment in the excise, which afforded him only £30 a year. He was, however, very kind and helpful to them so far as his limited means permitted him to be, and Charles Grant always remembered him with gratitude as his second father and truest benefactor. When the child was seven, he went to live with his uncle at Elgin, where he was sent to school; but, on his mother's death in 1758, the only way in which his uncle could provide for him was to apprentice him to a shopkeeper at Cromarty, named Forsyth, who proved a kind but strict friend. Charles remained with him rather more than four years. Being a proud and over-sensitive youth, he fretted under the work, which he considered beneath him, and longed for a better position.

At length the time came for a change to London. Owing to the kindness of Captain Alexander Grant, one of his relations, Charles obtained a situation as clerk in his mercantile house in that great city, and he sailed from Inverness at the end of February, 1763, with half a guinea only in his pocket. Mr. Forsyth's letter of recommendation, which he took to his cousin, was so curiously worded that we give two or three sentences from it. "I

do with justice," he wrote, "recommend him as a young man of a very good genius in cyphers and keeping of accounts as much as can be expected from one who has had no great degree of education in this way. I recommend him to you as worthy of your friendship and encouragement, and I have not the least doubt of his rendering himself acceptable and endearing to you in all respects." He at first was a clerk, and then the head clerk in his cousin's business, and ere long he was able to help his uncle and his brothers, of whom he constituted himself the guardian. During all the hard time of his apprenticeship and more recently in London, he looked forward to visiting America or India to improve his fortune. His ambition was now to be fulfilled. His cousins and employers desired that he should go to Calcutta, where they had been most successful. In November, 1767, he sailed for India. Before leaving England, he wrote the following affectionate letter to his uncle John, which we insert here to show the kindliness of his heart and the gratefulness of his feelings: "If I am successful, my first, my fondest wish shall be to give ease, and, if I can, affluence to you and the children. What do I not feel from the hardships to which you are exposed! I do not so much desire riches for myself as for my friends, and, if I ever acquire any, I trust they will not change my present sentiments. I long to relieve you from any necessity under which you have pined, and to make you some recompense for all your tenderness and attention to myself and the rest of my father's helpless family. I owe you much. I am bound to you by every tie." He was as good as his word, and, from the time of his arrival in India, he gave his uncle £50 a year, and also remitted money to give his younger brother John a good education.

Charles Grant reached Calcutta early in June, 1768, after a voyage that lasted between seven and eight months. On September 18, he wrote in high spirits to his uncle to announce his arrival. "I have now the pleasure," he said, "to address myself to you from the place which it has long been my great desire to arrive at. Everything I

have met with since my being here has served to confirm, the sanguine hopes I had entertained, and if life and health are spared, I hope a very few years will enable me to assist you and the children effectually. My fortune has hitherto been singularly good. I found in Mr. Becher such a friend as I never had any reason to look for, even from his own promise which he has very far exceeded. He has taken me into his family, and has given me the care of his business, which is establishing me at once upon so favourable a footing as to give me reasonable expectations of arriving in time at independency." Mr. Becher, who had thus befriended and encouraged him, was a gentleman holding high position in the East India Company's Civil Service; and, as Civilians were then permitted to trade on their own account, he had evidently placed Charles Grant, who was then twenty-two years of age and had gained experience in such work, at the head of his private business. He had become acquainted with him in London, and had formed a high opinion of his character. Mr. Becher was at that time Political Resident at the court of the Nawab at Moorshedabad, and during the years 1769 and 1770 the country was desolated by a very terrible famine which long lingered in the memory of the people. Grant vigorously exerted himself to assist Mr. Becher in his exertions for the relief of the famishing people. He suffered from fever at the end of 1770 so severely that the doctor who attended him forbade him to remain another hot season in India, so, much to his regret, he returned to England in the same vessel that carried back Mr. Becher and his family. They left Calcutta in January, and reached England in July, 1771. The clear, pure sea-air during the voyage quite restored Grant to health.

Grant remained at home nearly two years. During this time he visited his relations in Scotland, and assumed towards his brothers and sisters, who looked up to him with respect as well as affection, quite the position of the kind and loving elder brother. He is described as being at this period of his life a very handsome young

man. He had a tall, dignified figure, a clear, fresh complexion, large blue eyes deeply set under prominent brows, and a peculiarly pleasing smile. While in London he was introduced to a very lovely young lady, named Jane Fraser, who, her father having died, was under the guardianship of her mother. They were married on February 25, 1773. It was a singularly happy union. Mrs. Grant was as sweet and gentle in her disposition as she was beautiful in her personal appearance; and she was not only the companion and comfort of his life, but was the cheerer and strengthener of many friends even to the latest days of her sojourn on earth.

Before his marriage Grant had received the appointment of a Writer, and he now returned to Calcutta in the Company's regular Civil Service. The young couple embarked for India in a ship which was going to Bombay, where they arrived after a wearisome voyage lasting eight months, and they went round to Calcutta by another vessel. Mrs. Grant's mother and sister accompanied them. They reached Calcutta in May, 1774. On the outward voyage to Bombay a sad incident occurred. A friend of the family, Captain Fergusson, was killed at Cape Town in a duel with a fellow passenger named Roche, with whom he had had a quarrel on board, and, as there were several suspicious circumstances in the case, Grant used his influence to have the offender brought to justice. Captain Roche was sent back from Bombay to England, where he was acquitted; but the case caused a great sensation at the time.

Mr. Grant and his party were warmly welcomed by several relations and many friends on their arrival at Calcutta. Soon afterwards a new department for commercial and revenue affairs was created, called the Board of Trade, and Grant was appointed its Secretary. He continued to labour in this capacity from the institution of the Board in November, 1774, to December 6, 1780, when he received another appointment. Warren Hastings was the Governor-General, and the period of Grant's stay in Calcutta almost exactly coincided with

the famous feud between the Governor-General and Mr. Francis supported by the majority of the Council. It was a sad time of dissension and of strife. The controversy spread from the Council Chamber to Calcutta society generally; but it does not appear that Grant, being then in a subordinate capacity, was materially affected by it, though he was at first very intimate with Francis, and took his side in the quarrel. Having attained the object of his ambition, namely, to be in the Company's Civil Service, and being now in a position that enabled him to befriend and support his family, he seems to have been too well pleased with his prospects and surroundings, and to have entered on a life of extravagance and folly, which he afterwards deeply regretted. He mingled freely in the gaiety of Calcutta society, which, at that time, was not animated by a high tone either of honesty or morality. Though very happy in his family relations, he indulged in gambling, and ere long found himself deeply involved in debt. This did not last long, however, and sad events occurred in his family in the years 1775 and 1776, which were the means of completely altering the course of his life. His brother John came out to India with the view of obtaining employment there, and lived in his house. He was tenderly attached to this brother, who had been educated at his expense, and he acutely felt his death, which occurred in June, 1775. About the same time he heard of the death of his uncle John, who had been so kind to him in his infancy and youth, and who was known in the family as "the good uncle."

But this sorrow was succeeded by one still more crushing and severe. He had two sweet little daughters—one born at Bombay on his outward journey, and the other at Calcutta. They were peculiarly lovely and engaging children. In April, 1776, both children died of small-pox within nine days of each other, and the happy home was left desolate. The parents felt this double blow keenly. Grant had tried to drown his sorrow on his mother's death in business and in the pursuits of ambi-

tion. He could do this no longer. He was brought face to face with his own former self; and, after a prolonged and severe struggle, found true resignation, peace, and happiness in the service of Christ. At first he imagined that God had brought this trial on him in vengeance for his past ungodly life. "The power of complaining has deserted me," he wrote to his brother Robert; "for where can I find words to express the sorrow, the amazement, the horror, which this wonderful change produces?" Later on he wrote, "Seven months I have been under impressions, and to this hour I have no peace." But peace came to him, when he sought it from the right source, and the one who was the chief instrument in leading him to the Saviour, who alone can give true comfort and rest, was his beloved wife.

For a few weeks Mr. and Mrs. Grant went for change of scene to Chitpore; but they soon returned to Calcutta, finding it more convenient to live there than for him to go backwards and forwards to his work in that city. In the month of October Grant took an excursion to Chinsura, partly on business and partly to gain some relief to his mind by change and by intercourse with the Rev. J. C. Diemer, a missionary connected with the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. During their brief separation Mr. and Mrs. Grant wrote to each other daily, and some of her letters have been preserved. She saw that her husband had given way to despair, and that their sorrow had weighed unduly on his mind, so she sought to comfort him by gently leading him to the only One who can fully console; but her letters are too sacred and touching for much quotation, so only one extract is here given. "You say," she wrote, "that you feel most sensibly the misery of being subjected to habits of sin, and exposed to punishment and the accusations of conscience, and wish for that happiness which must certainly be possessed by those who are in the contrary state. Now is not this the sinner whom our blessed Saviour invites to come unto Him with promises of lightening his burden and giving him rest? I think it is. This seems to me to be your case

therefore you have nothing to do but to accept of this, compassionate and comforting invitation, to go unto Him with your whole heart, and to beg His assistance and intercession that you may partake of that blessed inheritance which He has purchased by His death, and with His own precious blood for all penitent and believing sinners." This gentle comforter was successful, and from that time Grant became a sincere and consistent Christian.

Grant had also some staunch friends. One was John Shore, afterwards Lord Teignmouth, who, at his own request, lent him books fitted to afford him spiritual consolation, and with whom the foundation of a life-long friendship was laid. Another was William Chambers, brother of one of the Judges in the Supreme Court of Bengal, and an intimate friend of Frederick Schwartz, the eminent missionary. Mr. Chambers had been a Civilian at Madras, but had removed to Calcutta, where he became acquainted with Grant, and afterwards was connected with him by marrying his sister-in-law, Miss Fraser. William Chambers was both a pious and a learned man, and rendered great help to Grant in all his future plans of usefulness while he remained in India. Grant never met Schwartz. He had been much interested in hearing of his mission work at Tanjore, and he entered into correspondence with him. Two beautiful letters written to Grant are to be found near the beginning of the second volume of Schwartz's Memoirs.

When the great change that we have described took place in Grant's life, his affairs were in a very critical condition. Not only was he in debt to a considerable extent, but the commercial concerns in which he was lawfully engaged were unsuccessful. His brother Robert, who was in the employ of the Nawab of Oude, at once came to his aid, and lent him a large sum of money, in fact, all his savings—a piece of generosity which he looked on as just what ought to be the case between brother and brother. Grant lived at Calcutta in a quiet and economical manner, very different from his former style of living. Notwithstanding the common practice in

Bengal, however, whereby men high in the Service rapidly made fortunes by illicit means, he never yielded to the temptation to descend to such practices, and he could, in after years, truthfully inform the Governor-General, when some rumours against him were circulated, that he had kept clear from even the appearance of dishonesty. The very words he used had better be employed. "I received," he said, "nothing from my station but the public allowances thereof, which were not sufficient for the maintenance of my family. I saw no fair prospect in the service of retrieving my affairs or making a provision for my family, but I determined against dishonest gain, and I made conscience of discharging the duty of my office, and promoting the interest of my employers as far as lay in my sphere by a diligent and attentive transaction of their business." Grant, thus steadfastly setting his face against wrong-doing, exerted himself to retrieve his affairs by strict economy and quiet living.

After six years hard work as Secretary of the Board of Trade at Calcutta, Charles Grant received from the Governor-General one of the best appointments in the Service. In December, 1780, he was made Commercial Resident at Malda, where the East India Company possessed a flourishing cloth and silk manufactory. Before leaving Calcutta, however, he had the sorrow of losing by death his brother Robert, who, as already stated, had helped him during the time of his depression in the most unselfish and generous spirit. Two sons and a daughter were born to him, which had tended to brighten his desolated home. Both of these sons were distinguished men in their generation. The elder, Charles, became one of His Majesty's Secretaries of State, and entered the House of Peers as Lord Glenelg; the other, Robert, became Governor of Bombay, but is now better known as the author of several hymns which are great favourites with members of the Church of Christ.

Grant left Calcutta for Malda in the same month as Mr. Francis set sail for England. There had latterly been unpleasant relations between them, which, when the

characters of the two men are compared, can be no matter for surprise. Grant had at an earlier period of his stay in Calcutta been on friendly terms with Mr. Francis. "I can," he afterwards wrote, "never seek the society of a man who has thus publicly stamped his principles," referring to a notorious case, "nor will he probably desire mine, both because of the apparent neglect on my part, and of the reproach which the profession I have taken up carries with it." He acknowledged that he had not occupied such an official position as brought him much into contact with Mr. Francis. He called on him, however, before leaving for Malda, but Mr. Francis still showed resentment. Years afterwards they met in the House of Commons, when Grant, then Chairman of the Court of Directors, made an effective speech against the policy of the Marquis Wellesley, with which Sir Philip Francis was so pleased that, when the speech was over, he crossed over to where Grant was sitting, and said, "Mr. Grant, now give me your hand."

The district of Malda, to which Mr. Grant and his family were removing, lies on the banks of the river Mahananda above its confluence with the Ganges. It was the centre of the silk industry of Bengal, then rivalling the manufactures of China, and it was beautifully fertile, especially abounding in plots of mulberry bushes. The Commercial Resident's house was on the right bank of the river about two miles south of the town of Malda, in the European suburb named English Bazaar. It was adapted for defence, being surrounded by a wall, which was guarded by a bastion and by embrasures at the corners. The time Grant resided there was the period when the prosperity of the district was at its height, the rearing of silk-worms and the manufacture of silk fabrics being the general occupation of nearly all classes of the community in the neighbourhood of the town. This was, perhaps, the happiest part of Grant's Indian career; and, when Mrs. Grant and he returned to Calcutta, they looked back with wistful regret to the quiet retirement they had there enjoyed. It was, however, a season of much activity

and usefulness. He was, in fact, the head of a large district, and busily engaged in making advances to the ryots on account of Government, and in superintending the manufacture of cloth and silk. He had also an indigo factory of his own at Gumalti, a village in the neighbourhood, situated in the midst of the ruins of Gaur, the ancient Muhammadan capital of the province of Bengal, which has since been overgrown by jungle.

The life at Malda was the ordinary routine of English residence up-country. It was varied by visits of friends, relatives, and travellers, and by his now and then going into the district, or sometimes by a journey to Calcutta. Mr. and Mrs. William Chambers often visited them; and on one occasion, Sir William and Lady Jones, who were taking an excursion into the interior for the sake of his health, stayed with them for some days, and they visited the ruins of Gaur together. "Surprised early last week," Grant wrote in his journal on January 18, 1785, "by the appearance of letters here for Sir William Jones. Heard afterwards from himself of his intention to visit us. He arrived yesterday in a convalescent state. February 6. The week after that day, I went with Sir William and Lady Jones to Gaur, taking the great tank in our way. He was curious at Gaur only about the remains of art. The mosque of the Adunah was undoubtedly the best thing we saw in our excursion, a curiosity worth a visit. We returned to the Factory on Saturday night. Sir William, who slept in his budgerow, came ashore early Sunday morning, and joined us at family prayer, afterwards at Church, and read to us one of Secker's discourses. He and Lady Jones went the different rides hereabouts, and seemed pleased with them and the place. They took leave of us the 27th at night. They were polite and complaisant to our family customs. Sir William is astonishing in depth of learning, and in facility and variety of genius, and is polite and entertaining in a high degree. As to myself I must conclude I answered his expectations in no way."

Grant regarded his assistants and dependents at Malda as a family party, which he took pleasure in styling them in his journal; and, on the whole, they seem to have been a very happy family. He appears to have enjoyed the privilege of choosing his own assistants. The principal of them was George Udny, who lived in the same house with Mrs. Grant and him most of the time they were at Malda, and became a life-long friend. Another assistant, who lived only a few years, was Mr. Forsyth, a son of Grant's old master at Cromarty, to whom he was pleased to show kindness. The steward of his household, who was a principal figure in his journal and in his life, was John Obeck, a friend of the great missionary Schwartz. He was a German by birth and had married a Portuguese woman. He was of humble extraction and had rather uncouth manners; but he was so excellent, simple, and affectionate, and such a true Christian that they felt quite a reverence for him. He was familiarly called by Mr. and Mrs. Grant "the old pilgrim." He was skilled in medicine, and acted as the doctor in that retired spot where better medical advice could not be obtained. He appears to have treated Grant himself carefully in rather a serious illness.

The chief source of information regarding Grant's life at Malda is a journal which he kept pretty regularly. It contains family details, accounts of his trips into the district or to Calcutta, and, here and there, echoes from the history of the great world outside, such as the war of independence in America, one of the chief actors in which was soon to appear in the history of India and of Mr. Grant's own life. We give two events in his family life. "May 23, 1784. This last week our dear Charles had a remarkably Providential escape. Running into a grassy part of the garden, where a little summer-house stands, he trode upon a large cobra, which reared its head upon him; but the rapidity of his motion had, in the same moment, carried him into the summer-house. Had not a gracious God prevented, how easily might this accident have spread desolation among us. The child says he felt the snake

soft under his foot, which was bare. May God bless and sanctify the life He has preserved." On February 10, 1782, a similar alarming adventure occurred. "Rode out with Mrs. G. in the evening," he wrote in his journal, "Udny accompanying us. Alighting on the east side of the river, we walked along it conversing, when on the opposite bank a jungle fowl flew out of the copse. As we were observing it and still advancing, a tiger opposite to us, probably not ten yards distant, roared and ran away. I did not know whether he had not jumped on one of us. We all set to running, but I stopped Mrs. Grant, I cannot tell why."

On some occasions during his stay at Malda, great oppression was exercised towards the weavers in the district. Grant was much troubled at this, and several times went out into the district to procure redress, appealing to Calcutta, when necessary, to obtain it. In 1783 there was a drought in the district and in 1785 a desolating flood. This is the entry on September 11 of the latter year.—"A great overflowing of the waters this year. The whole country between the Ganges and the Mahananda covered. The poor people in dreadful distress, clinging still to their huts though half filled, losing their grain, their cattle, their moveables, probably many their lives too. Last year but one was a destroying drought here, now a destroying flood. Sent up boats to the people."

During the last year or two of Grant's stay at Malda he was very much perplexed and troubled about the contract for the Company's "investments" there, as purchases of articles for trade were then called. His conscience regarding money affairs was always most scrupulous. His own profits arising from the contract seemed to be too large, and he was most careful in laying the whole state of the case before the acting Governor-General and his Council, even taking a journey to Calcutta for this purpose. "Then," as he states in his journal, "came on the consideration of the proposals of contract. Mine were accepted by the Governor-General and Council themselves for three years with a handsome minute on the occasion. Thus this

affair is over, and I have reason to admire the great goodness of God." Very few in the Service in those days showed such delicate care and uprightness. The greater number were guilty of speculation and dishonesty, which was connived at by those in authority in India, and even by the Court of Directors themselves. All this was now to come to an end. The new Governor-General, Lord Cornwallis, came out with strict injunctions to institute the most rigorous inquiry into the whole state of the Service.

Lord Cornwallis had heard of Grant as an upright and distinguished member of the Civil Service, and accordingly, in pursuance of his plan of rigid investigation, he sent a request for the Malda accounts from the year 1764. The entries in Grant's journal are -- "September 17, 1786 Lord Cornwallis landed at Fort William, and took possession of the Government the 12th September. October 15. Extremely surprised to hear last night that the Directors not only disapproved of Residents being contractors, but had ordered that they should be restricted from private trade. This, if carried into execution must finish my views here. Add to all this a requisition to-day for most voluminous factory accounts of the provision, costs, &c., of the Malda investment from 1764. October 29. I was surprised last Tuesday to receive a long letter from Lord Cornwallis, very civil and desiring opinions about the investment, abuses, &c., with an invitation, if I please, to go to the Presidency. This has filled my thoughts and time since. Who can tell what may result from this occurrence?"

Lord Cornwallis was quite satisfied with the accounts which Grant submitted to him, and requested him a second time to come to Calcutta for an interview. Grant accordingly went thither, arriving on December 16. Temporary indisposition prevented him from waiting on the Governor-General till the 23rd, when he was introduced by his friend Mr. Shore. It is interesting to read his first impressions regarding Lord Cornwallis, with whom he was to be brought hereafter into closer relations. "Found him," he wrote in his journal, "not the character

I had figured—he had less. I thought, of vigour and dignity, but more of affability, ease, and good nature. His excellence seems to be in upright intentions, freedom from all entanglements of patronage and private ends, and decision suitable to that temper. He has already given a higher tone and energy to the Service." The rumours prevalent in Calcutta of the thoroughness of the inquiry he was intending to make were abundantly fulfilled. His idea of Grant's character is contained in his reference to this inquiry contained in his correspondence. "I refer you," he wrote to a friend, "to a letter which I have transmitted by this ship to the Court of Directors relative to the prosecutions. I have there stated my sentiments. In the list which I desired you to reconsider, there are some as honourable men as ever lived. They have committed no fault but that of submitting to the extortion of their superiors; they had no other means of getting their bread, and they had no reason to expect support if they had complained. I sincerely believe that, excepting Mr. Charles Grant, there is not one person in the list who would escape prosecution." The result of his intercourse with Lord Cornwallis was that Grant was appointed Fourth Member of the Board of Trade on January 17, 1787; and, at his special request, his friend, George Udny, was appointed to succeed him as Commercial Resident at Malda.

This appointment, while it was in many respects agreeable to Grant, for he had just at that time many vexations and difficulties in his work at Malda, did not afford him unmixed pleasure. Mrs. Grant particularly regretted leaving their retired and happy life at Malda; "that quiet place" and especially "that pleasant verandah," to which she alluded in one of her letters. "The beginning of your letter to Mr. Udny," she wrote to her husband while he was still at Calcutta, "'I am no longer Resident of Malda,' made me quite melancholy. but, as it is the will of Providence, I must not murmur. I regret as much as anything the large house in which the children had room to play, as it were under my own eyes,

and were not exposed to the sun or anything else; but the Lord, I trust, will graciously keep them wherever they are." "The thought," she wrote a few days afterwards, "the thought of living in or near that gay town is not at all pleasant to me, but I submit. Thus one scene succeeds another. I think you and I are in the fourth act. May God of His infinite mercy make the concluding scene a happy one." Grant fully shared her feelings. In one of his replies to her he wrote:—"As to your regret for leaving Malda, I am not without mine too; but consider that we could not have remained there long. Therefore this regret must have come soon, and it might have been heightened by seeing a stranger take possession of all our enjoyments, and our own friends thrust out. Now we can leave the field to them entire and happy, and quit it ourselves with both advantage and credit. I own the prospect of a residence at Calcutta or near it is not pleasing, but I think we may warrantably conclude the Providence of God calls us to it; and, if, after giving us so many years of easy retirement, He now desires us again to live more in the world, we ought cheerfully to obey."

He reached Malda on January 29, and left for his new post on February 8, taking charge February 24, 1787. "May God make me grateful," he wrote in his journal, "for all His mercies here which have been many and great. Go with me and mine whither we are now removing, and also stay with the young men whom I leave here with our friend George Udny at their head as Resident." Again, "I took leave of the Factory of Malda, of that residence, and the little family I had formed there (I mean exclusive of my wife and children). I went to that place greatly indebted. I have got free of debt, and have besides apparently a competency, though at present it is not quite beyond risk. I adjusted affairs with Udny, I hope not unreasonably for him. I have a very large sum depending on an indigo work at Gumalti." He occupied at Calcutta Muchikola Garden, a house formerly inhabited by his friend Mr. Wheler.

• Grant took the deepest interest in everything that

related to the promotion of Christianity in India. Three incidents which took place at this time deserve special mention. In the year 1758 Mr. Kiernander, a Danish missionary, came from the south and settled in Calcutta, where he started a mission chiefly intended for Portuguese and Eurasians. In connection with this he built a church, which he called by the Hebrew name Beth Tephillah or the House of Prayer. Mr. Kiernander unfortunately became very much involved in his circumstances, and the House of Prayer was put up for sale to meet his liabilities. Mr. Grant generously came forward and paid ten thousand rupees to rescue it from sale. On October 31, 1787, it was conveyed to Mr. Grant, Mr. Chambers, and the Rev. David Brown in trust for the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, the latter subsequently performing divine service in it.

Another instance of Grant's desire for the benefit of the people of Bengal was his anxiety to found a mission at his indigo factory at Gumalt. On the occasion of his visit to Calcutta in December, 1786, he stayed with his friend Robert Udny, where Dr. Thomas, the surgeon of a ship then at Calcutta, was also residing. Dr. Thomas was himself very desirous to engage in mission work, and Grant taking a great fancy to him, it was arranged that he should give up his position as surgeon, and proceed to Gumalt, where he should learn Bengali, and become an evangelist to the people in that neighbourhood. Grant himself supported him liberally; but he was not suited to the life of a missionary. He liked ministering to Europeans more than preaching to the Hindus; he entered into speculations and fell into debt, and finally, much to Grant's disappointment, the mission scheme had to be entirely abandoned.

The third instance of Grant's efforts for the spread of Christianity in Bengal, though not immediately successful, was fruitful of very great results, for to it can, in a large measure, be traced the establishment of the Church Missionary Society, which has done so much for the conversion of innumerable souls in India and in other lands.

As early as 1784 he corresponded with Dr. Coke, the friend of John Wesley, and with Schwartz on the subject. In his journal of June 11, 1786, when he was in Calcutta on matters connected with his contract at Malda, Grant stated that he had received a letter from his friend, Mr. Raikes, in England, introducing to him the Rev. David Brown, a young clergyman who had come out to superintend the Military Orphan Asylum. "He is quite evangelical," he wrote, "really pious, zealous, and likely to be an instrument in the Lord's hands for good here." On July 9 Grant's journal recorded the following:—"Had large conversations among us (Mr. Chambers and Mr. Obeck being always with us) on the propagation of the Gospel in this country Mr. Brown very zealous and assured us that many young men of ardent zeal would come out. Consulted on the means of bringing the scheme to bear and agreed on some preliminaries." "Mr. Brown and Mr. Chambers with us at night," he wrote on July 10, two days before returning to Malda; "further conversation on the scheme of a mission. Agree each to write something." These entries refer to a plan which the three friends were jointly preparing with the object of establishing a mission in Bengal with the help of Government and with the aid of warm friends in England. It was called, "A Proposal for Establishing a Protestant Mission in Bengal and Behar." In this paper it was urged that the people of India had a claim on the British Government, and that it was the duty of Englishmen to impart to them the civil and religious privileges which they themselves enjoyed. It was proposed that eight young clergymen of marked ability and piety should be sent out, and each appointed to one of the eight divisions into which the country was divided. They were to start schools, employ catechists, found churches, and translate the Scriptures at their respective stations. Letters advocating this scheme were addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury and other influential persons; but the one on whom the writers most relied was the Rev. Charles Simeon, a clergyman who, at that time, had very great influence over the more

thoughtful students at the University of Cambridge. Grant's part in devising this plan and his own ideas regarding it had better be given in his own words from a letter dated September 15, 1787, written to a friend in England. "Mr. Brown, Mr. Chambers, and I," he said, "have conferred on a scheme which we have now advanced into some form. It is the propagation of the Gospel among the people of this country. We have drawn out a proposal for it containing reasons for its practicability, and producing and suggesting an outline of the mode of carrying it into execution. This proposal we now send to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Llandaff, Mr. Wilberforce, and some other persons. The countenance of Government is very material to our scheme. Therefore we solicit the good offices of those in high stations. The contributions of Christians may also be necessary, and, therefore, we have written to some eminent London ministers, and to a friend of Mr. Brown's, Mr. Simeon of Cambridge, to be the agent in the scheme. We are told he is a man of great zeal, and this temper scarcely ever appears but some term it enthusiasm, a hard word which, perhaps, we shall not escape ourselves." Mr. Simeon willingly interested himself in the matter, but the others whose assistance was requested did not, so far as we can ascertain, respond. Grant had an interview with Lord Cornwallis on the subject, and submitted his views to his Lordship in writing; but he gave the only reply which a statesman in his position would be expected to give—he would not oppose the scheme, but he could not, as Governor-General, give it his active support. The scheme was dropped, but, as it was the principal cause of the establishment of the Church Missionary Society in 1799, in which both Mr. Simeon and Mr. Grant took a leading part, his exertions in this matter deserve particular attention, and it will be necessary hereafter to mention it again. "

Grant did not find his new appointment at Calcutta an easy one. The difficulties of it will best be understood, and his own feelings regarding them realized, by using his

own words contained in a letter written seven months after he had taken charge. "I have," he wrote, "come into a place of very great labour and fatigue and of various difficulties. Lord Cornwallis, I have reason to believe, places much of his dependence in respect to the Commercial Department on me; and this to a mind that has any just feeling can only add an anxious zeal to the sense of duty. The management of that Department is very difficult. Good instruments are rare; the detail is great; the past system has left much of its inveteracy in the habits and system of doing business, though the grosser evils be taken away. It is hard to go a step in right measures without giving personal hurt either as to the past or present, and find that the greatest forbearance of unnecessary censure will not satisfy. Activity and perseverance upon sound, unchanging principles are offensive, and excite disgust, prejudice, and censorious discourse. The very load of current business is too much for me, exclusive of all hindrances from men's characters and tempers. The Company's investment is a ponderous machine to keep in proper motion. Their exigencies are so continual that there is never time for doing things in the best manner; and the Honourable Court of Directors are too often either quite supine or unreasonably rigid—effects of that ignorance and indolence to which fluctuating collective bodies are liable. From all these circumstances, though I was willing to assist in the conduct of a Department, the disorders of which I had long regretted, yet, to say the truth, I find the weight and responsibility of the business so great, the want of instruments and of a co-adjusting disposition so discouraging, the real difficulties in making the Company's purchases so many, and, in a word, the uncertainty of success and of affording satisfaction so considerable that my hopes are much abated. I fear to have no support but the sense of having done my best, and shall be very glad if, upon winding up the affairs of another year, I find myself able to make a handsome retreat."

• Whatever others might say and feel regarding Grant's

principles and method of conducting his business, 'he received the hearty and unfailing support of the Governor-General. He had, on the other hand, the highest admiration of Lord Cornwallis's character, which increased as he came to know him better. "Superadded to my first ideas," he wrote, "I now see that Lord Cornwallis 'is a man of sterling ability without show or affectation. He thinks and acts for himself, has a discernment into characters, and a fortitude and equanimity which enable him to sustain a weighty burden without chafing or despondency. He is a man also of much decorum in private character and sets an example of becoming economy and other good qualities to the whole settlement, by which he is greatly respected."

Grant had not to bear the anxiety and strain of his difficult office in Calcutta very long. He had for sometime been turning his face towards England. Even before leaving Malda, he had thought of retiring early on account of Mrs. Grant's failing health, and because they did not wish to be separated from their children, who were growing too old to remain longer in the enervating climate of Bengal. He remained rather longer than he originally intended owing to the Governor-General's urgent request; but he now thought it his duty to take his family to England. He would have been a gainer in many respects if he had stayed even a few years longer; but he was of opinion that his obligations to his family outweighed considerations regarding his fortune. "Charles Grant's children have been ill," Lord Cornwallis wrote to the President of the Board of Control; "and no consideration can detain him longer in India. I shall much lament his loss from the general assistance which I have received from him, but in the Commercial Department it is irreparable." "I need not repeat," he wrote on his leaving, "on introducing Mr. Grant to you, how much I am personally obliged to him, or how much the East India Company and his country are indebted to his zealous services and superior abilities. I beg you for my sake to receive him with all possible kindness, and I should recommend you for your own to

converse with him frequently upon every part of the business of this country."

Mr. and Mrs. Grant led a comparatively retired life during their brief sojourn in Calcutta. They did not mingle much in general society; but they formed part of a small circle of friends, who were very much attached to one another, and those remaining behind keenly felt their departure. They sailed from Calcutta in the ship *Berrington*, leaving on February 23, and reaching England on July 25, 1790. He was then a little more than forty-four years of age, and in the fulness of his vigour and strength both of mind and body, and he soon engaged in active and useful work. Not long after his arrival he paid a visit to his relatives in Scotland; but he eventually decided to settle in or near London, where he hoped to obtain congenial employment, for, after the active life he had led in India, it was impossible for him to remain idle. He at first lived in Queen's Square, Bloomsbury; but in 1794 he removed to Clapham, where he had built a house near Mr. Thornton's, in which he resided eight years. William Wilberforce then lived with Henry Thornton, and the three became firm and fast friends. He was strongly attracted to these two gentlemen by similarity in tastes, in character, and, above all, in piety.

During the next few years we find them all constantly together, consulting, planning, and working for the welfare of their fellow-men. William Wilberforce was then in the height of his Parliamentary fame, and in the fulness of his arduous labours for the freedom of the slave. Grant threw his whole heart into this conflict of love, and helped Wilberforce with information and counsel just as Thornton nobly seconded him in the House of Commons. Thornton was the Chairman of the Sierra Leone Company, which had been established for the purpose of helping the Africans in commerce and in trade, the instruction in the truths of Christianity being an integral portion of the scheme. Grant became a Director of that Company on December 20, 1791. Others loyally helped in this great cause, as we shall hereafter see; but it may be confidently

asserted that none worked harder at it than Thornton and Grant. See entry after entry in Wilberforce's Diary. He is taking a few days' needed rest in the country. Grant and Thornton hurry thither to bring him back to town. "All this week," he writes, "at the Sierra Leone business, and therefore stayed in the City with Henry Thornton. Grant with us always at Thornton's."

In the midst of all these exertions for the slaves, Grant always kept his eye fixed on the chief object of his heart—the evangelisation of India. He had made the acquaintance of Simeon and of Wilberforce by corresponding with them regarding the proposal for a mission to Bengal. He had evidently become personally acquainted with Simeon soon after his return to England, for, on his passing through Cambridge in October, 1792, Simeon and Claudius Buchanan, a young student who afterwards became a distinguished Oriental scholar, dined with him and Mrs. Grant. His friendship with Mr. Wilberforce has already been mentioned. His own reference to its commencement is interesting. Writing to a friend at the beginning of 1791, he said:—"The Proposal was received with great approbation here, and Mr. Wilberforce was disposed to become the active patron and promoter of it, but he was engaged, as he still is, in another great undertaking for the service of the human race, which it was necessary first to bring to a conclusion. I find that a person coming from Bengal may, with some advantage, stir in recommending such a scheme for that country to people here. I have, through Mr. Wilberforce's good offices, lately had some interviews with the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London. I find them well disposed, and Mr. Wilberforce, after several conversations with him, seems to have a good hope that the scheme may in some shape be brought to bear."

Grant, with his practical knowledge of India and its people, was just the very person whom those who in England desired to start mission work in earnest, had hitherto needed. Many consultations on the subject were held between the three friends and the Rev. Charles

Simeon. They generally took place in the beautiful oval room which was described in the opening paragraph of this memoir. Wilberforce mentions two of these gatherings in his journal. "To town," he wrote on July 20, 1797, "and back to dine at Henry Thornton's, where Simeon and Grant, to talk over mission scheme." "Dined and slept at Battersea Rise (Clapham) for missionary meeting; Simeon, Charles Grant, Venn (the clergyman at Clapham). Something, but not much, done. Simeon in earnest," was the entry on November 9, 1797.

There was at that time in London a small gathering of clergymen and others for the purpose of discussing religious subjects. It was called the Eclectic Society. Mr. Simeon belonged to it, and Grant joined it some time after his return to England. The mission scheme was about this time, that is, between 1795 and 1799, frequently discussed. Mr. Simeon and Grant were present at the meeting of this Society on March 18, 1799. The latter urged the founding of a Missionary Seminary. the former was eager to found a Society for the purpose at once. In answer to the question, when shall we do it? he replied, "Directly, not a moment to be lost. We have been dreaming these four years, while all England, all Europe, has been awake." On April 12, 1799, a gathering of friends took place in a room in the Castle and Falcon Inn in Aldersgate Street, London, and the Church Missionary Society was founded. " 'The Society for Missions to Africa and the East,' then formally established, grew and advanced like the grain of mustard seed; and, in less than a century, it has carried 'the unsearchable riches of Christ' to Africa and New Zealand, to India, to Ceylon and the West Indies, to the wild Indian in North-west Canada; and has extended its holy efforts to the vast field among the countless multitudes of China and Japan." Grant's dream was about to be fulfilled; and, although a solid foundation for its labours in Bengal was not laid for some years, he lived to see it begun. Though he was not actually present at the formation of the Society, he was, almost from the beginning, one of its Vice-Presidents.

After the very favourable way in which Lord Cornwallis had written regarding Grant to Mr. Dundas, the President of the Board of Control, it is not surprising that this minister was prepared to consult him on Indian affairs. It seems that he had several interviews with Grant; and, when the time came for him to send a reply to the Governor-General's recommendations on the Permanent Settlement in Bengal, which important measure was the principal feature in his administration, Mr. Dundas induced the Prime Minister, William Pitt, to spend ten days with him at Wimbledon, where the two statesmen shut themselves up and devoted their attention exclusively to that one subject. Most of the time Grant was with them, and gave them the benefit of his experience and counsel. He also wrote the draft of the reply which was sent to India in the name of the Court of Directors. The responsibility for the policy adopted was thus fully divided between Mr. Dundas and Mr. Pitt.

The greater part of the year 1792 was spent by Grant in writing a very elaborate and a very able paper, into which he poured out the accumulated thoughts and knowledge and information which he had acquired during his residence in India. It was entitled, "Observations on the State of Society among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain." It remained in manuscript for many years, and was at first shown only to his most intimate friends, of whom Wilberforce was one; but after he had been in the Direction of the East India Company for three years, he placed it before the Court as, to use his own words, "one of those many 'papers of business' with which the records of your Governments have been furnished by the observation and experience of men whose time and thought have been chiefly employed in the concerns of active life." This pamphlet is, even at the present time, well worth reading. After a brief sketch of the previous history of India, Grant seeks to impress on his fellow-countrymen a sense of the enormous power and the consequent responsibility which they were incurring. He then draws a very dark, and perhaps, in some respects,

too dark, picture of the moral condition of Hindu society at that time, which he attributes almost entirely to their religion. His object was, he said, "to engage compassion, and to make apparent that what speculation may have ascribed to physical and unchangeable causes springs from moral sources capable of correction." The final chapter, in which he described what he considered the right remedy for this evil is the most remarkable and the most worthy of study of all this notable pamphlet. "The true cure of darkness," he said, "is light;" and then he anticipates with almost prophetic insight, what has been done, however imperfectly, during the hundred years that have elapsed since he wrote. He advocated the teaching of the English language, which he remarked, "is a key which will open to the people a world of new ideas, and policy alone might have impelled us, long since, to put it into their hands." He foretold the advantages which would flow from the knowledge of English literature, European mechanical science, improvement in agriculture, and even the use of steam; but, above and beyond every thing else, the true exhibition of the Christian religion. "Undoubtedly," he said, "the most important communication which the Hindus could receive through the medium of our language would be the knowledge of our religion. It is not asserted that great effects would be immediate or universal; but, admitting them to be progressive and partial only, yet how great would the change be, and how happy at length for the outward prosperity and internal peace of society among the Hindus. Men would be restored to the use of their reason; all the advantages of happy soil, climate, and situation would be observed and improved; the comforts and conveniences of life would be increased; the cultivation of the mind and rational intercourse valued; the people would rise in the scale of human beings; and, as they found their character, their state, and their comforts improved, they would prize more highly the security and the happiness of a well ordered society."

Grant even foresaw the great danger which has made itself too sadly apparent in the present generation, of the

more intelligent among the people being, “loosened from their own religious prejudices, not by the previous reception of another system in their stead, but by becoming indifferent to every system.” Yet, with all the earnestness and the fervour of his heart, he advocated the inculcation of Christianity. “Do we wish to correct, to raise, to sweeten the social state of our Indian subjects?” he pleaded. “Would we at little cost impart to them a boon, far more valuable than all the advantages we have derived from them?” The Gospel brings this within our power. Of the effects which it would produce in civil society, if men acted according to its principles, we may, in the words of Bishop Horne, say that, ‘in superiors it would be equity and moderation, courtesy and affability, benignity and condescension, in inferiors, sincerity and fidelity, respect and diligence, in princes, justice, gentleness, and solicitude for the welfare of their subjects; in subjects, loyalty, submission, obedience, quietness, peace, patience, and cheerfulness; in all men, upon all occasions, a readiness to assist, relieve, and comfort one another—whatsoever, in a word, that is pure, lovely, and good.’ And is this the religion we hesitate to communicate to those whose welfare it is alike our duty and our interest to consult?” He concluded with these emphatic words—“The writer will not allow himself to believe that, when so many noble and beneficial ends may be served by our possession of an Empire in the East, we shall content ourselves with the meanest and the least; and, for the sake of this, frustrate all the rest. He trusts we shall dare to do justice, liberal justice, and be persuaded that this principle will carry us to greater heights of prosperity than the precautions of a selfish policy. Future events are inscrutable to the keenest speculation; but the path of duty is open, the time present is ours. By planting our language, our knowledge, our opinions, and our religion in our Asiatic territories, we shall put a great work beyond the reach of contingencies; we shall probably have wedded the inhabitants of those territories to this country; but, at any rate, we shall have done an act of strict duty

to them and of lasting service to mankind." It must be borne in mind, when reading these words, that they were written more than a century ago, when there was the most bitter opposition to every sentiment contained in them.

This pamphlet was printed by order of the House of Commons in 1813, when Grant was himself a member of the House, and when it did good service in influencing the discussions on the renewal of the East India Company's Charter in that year. Meanwhile, its author helped Mr. Wilberforce very greatly in his earnest endeavours, when the Charter was renewed in 1793, to introduce into the Act of Parliament confirming the Charter certain clauses which would have ensured religious liberty in India twenty years earlier than was the case. In this vigorous attempt Grant was his right-hand man, as Mr Henry Thornton was in the anti-slavery contest. He gave him information, and cheered and encouraged him in his efforts, and, it would appear, that Grant drafted the Resolutions which were carried in the Committee of the House and afterwards in the House itself. These clauses ran as follows — "That it is the peculiar and bounden duty of the Legislature to promote, by all just and prudent means, the interests and happiness of the inhabitants of the British dominion in India; and that, for these ends, such measures ought to be adopted as may gradually tend to their advancement in useful knowledge, and to their religious and moral improvement." The second paragraph referred to ministers and chaplains being sent out for Europeans. These clauses were passed on May 14, 1793. On the 17th of that month, another clause was accepted, empowering the Directors to send out schoolmasters and approved persons for the religious and moral improvement of the inhabitants of the British dominions in India. Wilberforce was both deeply affected and delighted at these Resolutions being passed. A great hubbub, however, was created among the East India Proprietors, who were the persons that elected the Directors. They prevailed, and the Resolutions were rejected on May 24

on the third reading of the Bill, much to the discomfiture of Wilberforce and Grant.

About this time Grant was induced to offer himself as a candidate for the Direction of the East India Company. He must have begun his canvass for it in the same year, and he was elected on May 30, 1794. The electors were the Proprietors of the East India Company's stock, who had a certain number of votes each according to the amount of his shares in the stock. The custom was for candidates to apply to each Proprietor for his votes, and those who received the highest number of votes were elected as Directors. It appears, however, from the records in the India Office that Grant was chosen at a by-election, when there was no other candidate. Upon his asking Mr. Dundas for his vote, the minister replied in the following courteous manner:—"You had no occasion to solicit my vote. I was acquainted with your character before I knew your person. As there is a particular run against you, I have no objection to your making any use you please of the enclosures to this letter (extracts from Lord Cornwallis's Correspondence). However much I should be gratified on any occasion to prove my personal respect for you, I profess, in the present instance, to be actuated solely by motives of an anxious concern for the interests of the East India Company." Grant had nominally belonged to the Bengal Civil Service up to 1794, and he would most probably have been appointed to a seat in the Governor-General's Council, had he remained in the Service—a position which was actually offered to him a few years later; but he retired this year, and, for nearly thirty years, he had the privilege of guiding the affairs of the Company by his influence and counsel at the India House in Leadenhall Street. He was three times Chairman of the Court of Directors, namely, from April 10, 1805, to April 9, 1806; from April 12, 1809, to April 11, 1810; and from April 12, 1815, to April 11, 1816.

Grant threw his whole heart into his important work at the India House, and he soon gained very great influence there. He was, to use Sir J. W. Kaye's language, not a

Director, but the Direction. This is, perhaps, the most appropriate place to insert the description of him by Sir James Stephen in his well-known Essay on "The Clapham Sect." "British India," he wrote in his account of the various good works that occupied the minds of the brotherhood at Clapham, "was the special charge of Mr. Grant, regarded at the commencement of this century as the real ruler of the rulers of the East, the Director of the Court of Directors. At Leadenhall Street he was celebrated for an integrity exercised by the severest trials; for an understanding large enough to embrace, without confusion, the entire range and the intricate combinations of their whole civil and military policy; and for nerves which set fatigue at defiance. At Clapham, he was hailed as a man whose piety, though ever active, was too profound for much speech. With the calm dignity of those spacious brows and of that stately figure, it seemed impossible to reconcile the movement of any passion less pure than that which continually urged him to requite the tribute of India by a treasure, of which he who possessed it more largely than any other of the sons of men declared, that the 'merchandise of it is better than the merchandise of silver, and the gain thereof than fine gold.'"

At Clapham Mr. and Mrs. Grant were surrounded by congenial friends. Two of them have already been mentioned. Another was the Honourable Edward Eliot, the dearly loved brother-in-law of William Pitt. He lived at Broomfield, about a quarter of a mile from his own dwelling, the house afterwards occupied by Wilberforce. Both Wilberforce and Grant pressed on Pitt the advisability of appointing him Governor-General in succession to Sir John Shore. "Mr. Dundas and Lord Cornwallis," Grant wrote to his friend Wilberforce, on February 4, 1797, "prefer him to any other person." Mr. Eliot was compelled by a dangerous illness to decline this splendid position, and he died in the following September.

One of Grant's oldest and dearest friends was Sir John Shore, who, after his retirement, was made Lord Teignmouth. Grant was the one who, when Sir John Shore

was offered the appointment of Governor-General, and when he was hesitating about accepting it, successfully used his influence to induce him to return to India. The two friends were very intimate after Lord Teignmouth had come back to England; but they could not have been very long together at Clapham, because Lord Teignmouth did not begin to reside there till 1802, the year Grant left. Other Clapham friends were Zachary Macaulay, father of Lord Macaulay, the well-known essayist, poet, and historian. Macaulay was intimately associated with Wilberforce, Thornton, and Grant in the anti-slavery question; and, both in West Africa and in England, did loyal service in mitigating the miserable condition of the slave. Another friend was James Stephen, father of Sir James Stephen, whose character drawn by the eloquent pen of Lord Brougham is given in the celebrated essay by his son. No word of ours need be added to it. "A warm and steady friend," wrote the distinguished lawyer and statesman, "a man of the strictest integrity and nicest sense of both honour and justice, in all the relations of private society wholly without a stain; though envy might well find whereon to perch, malice itself, in the exasperating discords of religious and civil controversy, never could descry a spot on which to fasten." Nor can we omit to mention the Rev. John Venn, the clergyman at Clapham, whose ministry Grant attended, and to whose care he had, before Mr Venn or himself had come to Clapham, entrusted the early education of his sons. Other celebrated personages, though not living there, came thither from time to time, and joined in the benevolent, religious, and genial councils that took place in the Oval Library or on the shaded lawn of Henry Thornton's house. The one desire of all was to do good to man and to advance the glory of God, and it is quite certain that, when Grant was present, the welfare of India was not forgotten.

Strongly pressed by certain relatives in Scotland, Grant came to the decision, after he had obtained some years' practical experience as a Director of the East India

- Company, to secure a seat in Parliament. He offered his services accordingly to the electors of Inverness, and he represented the county of Inverness for the space of sixteen years. He entered Parliament in 1802, and, in that year, thinking it advisable for the prosecution of his fresh duties, he left Clapham, and took a house in Russell Square, in the very heart of London, equidistant from the India House and Westminster, where he resided for the remainder of his life. It is scarcely necessary to remark that he left the impress of his strong character on all the deliberations of the Court of Directors during the many years he was a member of that powerful and influential body, more especially during the six years when he was its Deputy Chairman and Chairman; but, of course, it is difficult to trace his individual opinions in its collective utterances on the various political questions that were discussed and the commercial business that was transacted. A few of the matters on which his individual opinions can be ascertained must be mentioned. At the time when he took his seat at the India House, a discussion of the enormous amount paid by the Company for the freight of shipping was proceeding. It was said that they had paid ten millions of pounds within the last few years above the sum that ought to have been paid upon any principle of fair and open competition. He strongly advocated economical reform in this respect; and the best testimony to the value of his efforts appears in the vigorous attempt made to prevent his return at the next election, after he had gone out of the Direction "by rotation," as it was called, each Director having to leave office after four years' service.

Another important question at that time was the manner in which the Directors exercised their extensive patronage. The people of England were much disturbed by the fact that daily advertisements appeared in the newspapers offering appointments to India for valuable consideration—that is, the sale of appointments. The source of these advertisements could not be traced, though strenuous efforts were made. When this matter was brought be-

for the Court of Proprietors in January, 1801, Grant made a vigorous and forcible speech, advocating inquiry in every possible way, considering that "the honour of the Court, the satisfaction of the public, and the state of the subject required it." After he had entered Parliament certain disclosures on another subject were made in 1809, and he obtained the appointment of a select Committee of the House of Commons to inquire into the matter, which resulted in a full exculpation of the Court of Directors.

It is well known that the Court of Directors were very much opposed to the warlike measures of Lord Wellesley's administration. The nation and the Parliament were of the same opinion. Looking back over the years that have since elapsed and over the subsequent history of India, Indian statesmen and writers may now take a different view of the case, but Grant, both in the India House and in Parliament, warmly and consistently spoke against Lord Wellesley's policy, with the exception of his action regarding Mysore. He was an advocate of the more pacific policy of his friend Lord Cornwallis. The principle on which he acted is contained in one sentence. "The character of this country," he said in a speech in the House of Commons during a debate about the kingdom of Oude, "is its dearest possession; and I am convinced *that* character would be compromised if the House should not, with a view to national honour and national justice, express its disapprobation of this transaction." This sentiment was the keynote of the policy which Grant sought to impress on the Court of Directors and the country. It was the secret of his own life and conduct. Acting on this principle, he supported Sir Philip Francis's motion on April 5, 1805, "that to pursue schemes of conquest and extension of dominion in India are measures repugnant to the wish, the honour, and the policy of this nation." He endeavoured to uphold the Court of Directors in their action, and to vindicate them in refusing to approve of Lord Wellesley's measures. "The true policy of the British Government in India," he said,

"is not to pursue conquest for the extension of territory. This opinion I have been led to adopt from experience of the effect of the former Mahratta war, an event which has laid the foundation of all the debts we have incurred. Admitting, therefore, what I consider to be due to the Marquis Wellesley, the great ability and attention to the affairs of the Company, I cannot withhold my sanction to the motion. So much has been done to render it doubtful whether we have not abandoned that principle, that it has become necessary to give the world assurance that it shall in future be the guide of the British policy in India." In the following year, when a similar motion was before the House, Grant, while allowing that the military system pursued by Lord Wellesley was very splendid, added, "I cannot think that a good system for tranquillizing India, the effect of which has been to involve us in quarrels with all the native princes."

In a speech uttered during the session of 1807, Grant gave it as his decided opinion that the sudden and appalling mutiny at Vellore in the preceding year had been caused by an endeavour by the Muhammadans to restore the family of Tippoo Sultan to power, and not to any interference with the religious feelings of either the Muhammadans or the Hindus. In June, 1808, the measure for deposing the Nawab of the Carnatic came finally under the notice of Parliament. Grant entered fully into the subject in the House of Commons, and he contended that the deposition of the Nawab and the assumption of his power were simply acts of injustice. "Not only," he maintained, "was there nothing like legal evidence of the offences imputed to the last Nawab, but even no such presumption as an individual or a nation could act upon with any regard to justice."

The education of the younger Civil Servants of the Company was a subject very close to the heart of Mr Grant. It has been truly asserted that the plan of the Company's College at Haileybury was originated by him. He strongly advocated it at the meetings of the Court of Proprietors and in the counsels of the India House. He

denied the insinuation that its design was intended to supersede Lord Wellesley's plans in Calcutta; but he justified the opinion entertained by the Court of Directors that it was better for the young Civilians to be trained in England. He sincerely believed that a conscientious attachment to the Christian faith and a settled patriotism ought to form the foundation of the character of every Englishman who was called upon to bear rule in India. This could best be taught before leaving the shores of England. Grant was particularly careful in his selection of the clergymen who went out to India in the capacity of chaplains. It is to him, aided by the counsel and the wisdom of Mr. Simeon, that India owes the presence and the ministrations of such godly and devoted men as Henry Martyn and Claudius Buchanan.

Perhaps the most important services rendered by Grant in the India House and in Parliament were in connection with the renewal of the Company's Charter in 1813. Negotiations on this subject between the Company and the British Government began as early as 1808, when he was Deputy Chairman of the Court of Directors. He consequently took a leading part in them. He was chosen as a member of the deputation appointed to confer on the subject with the ministers of the Crown, he was entrusted with the presentation of petitions from the Company to Parliament; and he upheld in the House of Commons the rights and privileges of the Company with marked ability and temperate firmness. The influence of Grant at this eventful season can scarcely be overestimated. It was equally felt in Leadenhall Street, in India, and in the House of Commons.

In the latter place, he was materially assisted by his son Charles, when the renewal of the Company's Charter was under debate. "It must have been a fine thing," wrote Sir John William Kaye, "to see the two fighting side by side on the floor of the House of Commons." This quotation naturally leads to another from the same distinguished writer on Indian affairs. "The head-piece of the Company in Leadenhall Street," he wrote, "the mouth-piece of

the Company in St. Stephen's, the oracle, on all subjects of Indian import, of that little knot of warm-hearted, earnest-minded men who discussed great measures of humanity on Clapham Common, Charles Grant so tempered the earnestness of his spiritual zeal with sound knowledge and strong practical sense, that whatever he said carried a weighty significance with it. Such a man was much needed at that time. He was needed to exercise a double influence—an influence alike over the minds of men of different classes in India, and of his colleagues and compatriots at home. There was a determined set made against the introduction of the new clauses into the Act that granted the renewal of the Charter, and the contest was even sharper than it had been twenty years before; but it must ever be remembered, when men now-a-days speak against the hard and irreligious policy of the Court of Directors of that day, that the foremost figure in maintaining what was right and just and true and brave was the best known Director of the East India Company. The most courageous utterances of that time came from Leadenhall Street, from the India House. Let us hear what he had to say on the question of permission for the messengers of the Gospel to proclaim their message under the protection of the Indian Government,—not for the Government to do this themselves, but for the promulgation of religious liberty. “I most of all suffer,” he wrote, “from the absurd, malevolent, and wicked stories which the weak, the prejudiced, the enemies of Christianity, have poured forth to discredit, to bring into suspicion, to blacken as dangerous and mischievous, the few poor and assuredly harmless efforts which have been made under the British Government to introduce the light of the Gospel into India. . . I have for many years considered the question. Caution and prudence are at all times necessary in proposing the truths of Christianity to heathens; there may be particular conjunctures when these, and perhaps a degree of forbearance, are especially required—but for a Christian nation to say deliberately that they will prohibit the communication of that religion which comes

from God to fifty millions of men, who do not know it, is a proposition so monstrous and shocking, so contrary to the most rational and probable cause to be assigned for the conduct of Providence in committing so vast an Empire to our care, that I tremble at the thought of it and the consequences it would be likely to produce. The real question depending is, whether the door shall be shut to the entrance of missionaries into British India? If it is deliberately settled in the negative, I shall consider the warrant is signed for the transition of our Empire there, and I hold this opinion with men of greater authority and name than mine." The Resolutions which were carried in the House of Commons were very similar to those which had been so nearly passed twenty years before; and this victory was principally due to the exertions of Wilberforce and Grant. The Act containing them received the Royal assent on July 23. 1813. Three important changes were thus introduced into the Company's Charter. The ecclesiastical establishment was enlarged, a Bishop of Calcutta being appointed; the privilege was granted to European teachers of Christian morals, that is, of missionaries, of enjoying access to the inhabitants of British India, and an annual grant of one lakh of rupees was voted for the general promotion of education. Thus this simple, but important Act was passed. No one was one iota the worse for it, and hundreds of thousands the better; and the grand-children of those who fought this battle for justice can scarcely understand the stir which it created.

Mr. Grant was elected from Parliament in 1818. He had not only applied himself to the great measures and questions that have been mentioned, but he exerted himself to benefit the country which he represented in the House of Commons. He vigorously advocated the promotion of public works in the Highlands of Scotland. When he first stood for Inverness the roads there were in a most primitive condition. Moved by him, the Government of that day agreed to defray the cost of several great works, the most important of which was the Caledonian Canal, which had

been planned before his time, but was now completed. He was present at the opening of it. He also procured the construction of roads and bridges, which were of great benefit to the county.

Grant, feeling the infirmities of old age approaching, almost entirely withdrew from public life in 1818. The evening of his days was cheered and comforted by seeing the success of his sons and by the companionship of his numerous friends. His beloved wife, who had been the solace of his life, was spared to him till the last. The best account of his death is in a letter written to his youngest son William by Miss Parry, a daughter of his dear friend Edward Parry, who had belonged to the same Service, and had been one of his colleagues on the Direction. The following is a part of her letter. "I write," she said, "with real distress of mind to inform you that your excellent father was seized on the night of October 31 with a shivering fit and pain in the chest, after having been apparently in perfect health, and having read prayers to his family with his usual voice at seven o'clock. Finding that the coldness and pain did not go off on getting into bed, he sent for the doctor, who was happily at home, and at his bedside a few minutes after the summons. He immediately gave him some ether, and wrapped him in warm flannels, and advised his endeavouring to sleep. This continued about half-an-hour. When the doctor asked him if he felt relieved, he said he did, and appeared to fall into a doze, but the thickening of the breath alarmed the doctor, who came to his bedside, and found that his spirit had taken its flight to those realms to which it had been so long aspiring." Death, however swiftly it may come, never finds a truly Christian man unprepared. Mr. Wilberforce's exclamation on hearing of it, was, "How easy a dismissal, and how desirable to one so assuredly prepared as he. Oh, he was indeed a true Christian."

Grant's character can be clearly discerned in the actions of his life. His affections were strong, and he was singularly fortunate in his friends; but he had a firm will and a straightforward, tenacious purpose. Kind and

generous almost to a fault, he set before himself a certain aim, and steadily kept it in view, as when he placed before himself the determination to assist his uncle and to befriend his brothers. Both resolves were fully carried into effect. Deprived in early life of a suitable education such as boys of his age and station usually enjoy, he set to work to remedy this defect, so far as it could be remedied, and, in a great measure, made up for it by industry and steady perseverance. The vigorous language in which his essay on the relations of Britain to her Asiatic subjects is written, is a proof that, with better training in youth, he might have attained to greater excellence in composition. He was a firm and steadfast friend, and yet was quite prepared, when necessity arose, to show to those with whom he was intimate where they were deficient, in a spirit of humility and meekness.

His life was strengthened and sweetened by his conversion. From that time he never swerved from his desire to serve the living God, who had dealt so graciously with him. After it he showed himself ready for every good work. But India was the great object of his affection and of his solicitous regard. Few have done more for it after returning to their own native land. India never had a truer friend. During thirty years at the India House and sixteen years in Parliament, India held a warm place in his heart and the foremost position in his work. He sincerely desired the benefit of its inhabitants in every respect; but he especially longed to see them embrace the sacred truths of that faith which had been so great a comfort to himself, and he spared no pains, no labour, and no exertion to hasten forward the time when, of their own free will and accord, they would acknowledge the divine Author of the Christian religion as their Sovereign and their Lord.





SIR WILLIAM JONES.

SIR WILLIAM JONES,
THE LEARNED ORIENTAL SCHOLAR.

BY

HENRY MORRIS,

(MADRAS CIVIL SERVICE, Retired),

Author of "Anglo-Indian Worthies," "The History of the Godavery District,"
"A Simplified Telugu Grammar," and other works.

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SIR WILLIAM JONES,

THE LEARNED ORIENTAL SCHOLAR.

FROM A.D. 1746 TO 1794.

“On parent knees, a naked, new-born child,
Weeping thou sat'st, while all around thee smiled ;
So live, that sinking in thy last, long sleep,
Calm thou may'st smile, while all around thee weep.”

Persian Distich, translated by himself.

SIR WILLIAM JONES was the scholar to whom India owes the solid foundation of Oriental learning and research. He led the advance in a pathway along which many European, Hindu, and Muhammadan scholars, several of whom have been more eminent even than himself, have followed; and for this India owes him a deep debt of gratitude which can never be fully repaid. For this reason no account of Anglo-Indian worthies would be complete without a narrative of his life and labours.

William Jones was born in London on September 28th, 1746. His father was a mathematician of some distinction, and was the intimate friend of Sir Isaac Newton and other eminent men. His mother was evidently a woman of clear intellect, sound judgment, and great resolution. As his father died when he was only three years old, and as he was her only son, an elder boy having died in infancy, she seems to have given her whole time to his early education, for which she was thoroughly qualified. She taught him so successfully that in his fourth year he was able to read distinctly any ordinary English book; and, as she thought it right to train his memory, he had learned to repeat some of the popular speeches in Shakespeare and the best of

Gay's Fables. As a general rule, it is not considered proper to exercise the tender brains of little children at an early age. Precocious children, as they are called, do not turn out well and fail in after-life from too early culture ; but the little William proved an exception to this rule, and became a brilliant example of a youthful genius turning into a ripe scholar. This was due, perhaps, to his mother's judiciousness. She was most gentle and patient with him ; but she refrained from answering his incessant questions about common things, always saying, " Read and you will know." This saying sank into his youthful mind, and he always acknowledged himself as indebted to the observance of it for his future attainments. At this time he had an accident which injured his right eye and nearly proved fatal to his sight. He struggled one day, when his frock was being put on, and one of the hooks stuck in his eye. The wound was healed in due time ; but the eye-sight was weakened by it, and ever after remained imperfect.

At the close of his seventh year, the boy was sent to Harrow, a public school near London, at which many well-known English statesmen and other distinguished persons have been educated. Boys are now not usually placed at such large schools as Harrow until they are much older and stronger than he was. Latin and Greek, which are called in English classical languages, are chiefly taught at these schools ; and, curious to say, the future linguist and scholar at first took a dislike to the rudiments of Latin. His mother judiciously abstained from pressing him until he knew more of his own language. In his ninth year, he had the misfortune to break one of his thigh-bones, which was the cause of his being kept from school for twelve months. This put him back in his studies ; but when, in his twelfth year, he entered the higher division of the school, his very great abilities, combined with the most persevering diligence, soon made him the foremost scholar. Dr. Thackeray, who was the Headmaster for some time during his career at Harrow, and who was very chary in praising his pupils,

said of him that, if he were left naked and friendless on Salisbury plain (a large, uncultivated common near the city of Salisbury in the south of England), he would still find the road to riches and to fame. Dr. Sumner, who succeeded Dr. Thackeray on his retirement, soon contracted an ardent affection for his favourite pupil, and declared that he knew more Greek than himself, and was better acquainted with its idiom. Even at that early age, William Jones was voracious in his appetite for knowledge. Besides his ordinary school studies, he found time to learn the Arabic characters and to read the book of Psalms in Hebrew, while, during his holidays, he worked at French and Italian.

On leaving Harrow in 1764, young Jones went to the University of Oxford, where he resided at University College. His mother and sister went to live in the town of Oxford in order that they might be near him, and he spent with them as much of his time as he could spare from his severe and continuous studies. His mother had not been left in good circumstances when her husband died; and her son, therefore, was most anxious to do something to relieve her from expense on his account, for he dearly and tenderly loved her. He obtained his desire after he had been only a few months at the University; and on October 31, 1764, he became a scholar on what was called the foundation of Sir Simon Bennett, a gentleman who had left money for this purpose. About two years afterwards, on August 7, 1766, he was elected a fellow on the same foundation, which gave him about £100 a year—a sum that went further in the last century than it does in this. At first he did not enjoy his life at the University; but after a time, when he became accustomed to it and when he found that his abilities were appreciated, he became devotedly attached to Oxford, and was enthusiastic in its praises and ever ready in its defence.* His college tutors, observing the amount of his knowledge, dispensed with his attendance at their lectures, for they admitted that he could employ his time to better advantage. The manner

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in which he studied Greek was marvellous; but he also diligently read Arabic with a Syrian named Mirza, a native of Aleppo, whom he had found in London, and had induced to come and reside at Oxford. He likewise studied Persian.

While he was waiting for the Fellowship, which he afterwards obtained, and while feeling that he was a burden on the slender resources of his mother, he was offered the position of private tutor to Lord Althorp, the youthful son of Earl Spencer, an influential nobleman. He entered on his duties in the summer of 1765, and not only formed a great friendship with Lord and Lady Spencer but also with his pupil, to whom he wrote, long after the tie of tutor and pupil had been dissolved, "to your interests alone I am firmly attached; both from early habit and from mature reason, from ancient affection unchanged for a single moment, and from a full conviction that such affection was well placed." He found much to help him in his favourite pursuits in the numerous books that stocked Earl Spencer's well chosen library. At first he superintended Lord Althorp's education at home; and, when his pupil went to Harrow, he resided there to assist him in his work.

When the family was staying at Wimbledon, a few miles from London, in the spring of 1768, Mr. Jones received an application which led to his productions becoming first known to the public. The King of Denmark, who was on a visit to England, brought with him a manuscript in Persian giving the history of the great conqueror, Nadir Shah. He was anxious to have it translated, and he applied to one of the Secretaries of State asking him to recommend a suitable translator. The Secretary sent it to Mr. Jones with the request that he would make a literal translation of it into French. It was a difficult task and took him a year to complete, for his French had to be submitted to a native of France for the correction of idioms which no one but a Frenchman could correct. This work was published in 1770, and was the foundation

of his literary fame. The King of Denmark, as an expression of his gratitude, sent him a diploma making him a member of the Royal Society of Copenhagen, and recommended him strongly to his own sovereign. Mr. Jones, it may here be stated, took the degree of B. A. at Oxford in 1768 and that of M. A. in 1773, and was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society of England on April 30, 1772.

In the year 1770, Mr. Jones, two years after Lord Althorp had entered Harrow, thought it advisable to give up his position as tutor, and definitely to adopt the profession of the law. He entered the Temple, which is one of the places where young men are trained for the legal profession, in September of that year, and was called to the bar in January, 1774. When he had applied himself to the study of law earlier he took rather a dislike to it; but now that he had determined to adopt it as his life's work, he threw himself into it with all the energy and ardour of his nature. "I have just begun," he wrote to a friend at this time, "to contemplate the stately edifice of the laws of England,

'The gather'd wisdom of a thousand years,'

if you will allow me to parody a line of Pope. I do not see why the study of the law is called dry and unpleasant; and I very much suspect that it seems to those only who would think any study unpleasant, which required a great application of mind and exertion of the memory." To show his devotion to his new profession he made a sacrifice, a year after he was called to the bar, which plainly showed how sincere his resolution was. He gave up his beloved oriental studies in order that he might give himself unreservedly to the practice and the learning of law. His researches were not confined only to one branch of law, but he included the whole in its fullest extent. He compared ancient legislation with modern, and he actually collated the codes of the various nations of Europe so as to compare them with each other. "If the reader recollects," is the remark of his biographer,

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Lord Teignmouth, "the enthusiasm of Mr. Jones in the prosecution of his oriental studies, the extent and depth of his attainments in the literature of Asia, and the high reputation which he had acquired from them, he will readily applaud his resolution and perseverance in renouncing his favourite pursuits. That he acted wisely, will be admitted, but the sacrifice of inclination to duty, affords an example of too great use and importance to pass without particular observation."

The year 1780 was an eventful one in Mr. Jones's life. In it his mother, to whom he was tenderly attached, died. He owed very much to her. She gave him the first instruction and encouragement in learning; she helped in forming his habits and his tastes; and she enabled him to purchase books and to obtain tuition out of her slender income. He ceased, as already stated, to take anything from her directly he obtained a Fellowship; and, as his own income increased, he had the satisfaction of helping her. She was his dearest friend, and the one to whom he confided his most cherished plans and hopes. He sincerely and heartily mourned her. "She was ever," he wrote to a friend, "in my opinion the best of women; I trust she is now the happiest. But my affliction for her is inconsolable."

In this year Mr. Jones was induced by the encouragement of his friends to come forward as a candidate to represent in Parliament his beloved University of Oxford, which place was about soon to be vacated. Great exertions were made on his behalf. He was himself very anxious to succeed, because he was strongly of opinion that every man was bound to exert himself to the utmost of his ability for the benefit of his country, and he considered that there could not be a better sphere for this than in the venerable senate of the kingdom. He affirmed that his great object of imitation was Selden, and that, if he could obtain the same honour which was conferred on him, he would, like him, devote the rest of his life to the service of his constituents and country, to the practice of his

useful profession, and to the unreserved study of English law, history, and literature. He was already hankering after the appointment of a judgeship in India; but he stated that his highest ambition was to serve his country in Parliament, and that he would have cheerfully sacrificed to it, "not only," as he expressed it "an Indian Judgeship of six thousand a year, but a Nabobship with as many millions." After the contest had gone on for some time, however, Mr. Jones discovered that he had no chance of success and, therefore, he withdrew from it, not wishing to give his friends the trouble of voting for one who was not likely to be returned. A Latin Ode to liberty which he wrote about this time, and in which occurred some lines of rather strong praise of freedom, was probably the cause of his failure.

After this disappointment Mr. Jones renewed with redoubled attention his legal studies. He was anxious to be known as an author in this department as well as in that of lighter literature; and he wrote an Essay on Bailments, which received the approval of such a high authority as Lord Mansfield. He was also as diligent in the courts of law, being the active part of his profession, as he was in the more studious portion of it, for he wrote to his future father-in-law that he had spoken the day before in Westminster Hall for two hours and a half on a knotty point of law, and for an hour, on the day he was writing, about another interesting question. During the winter of 1780, Mr. Jones, after an interval of six years, resumed his study of Arabic poetry. His work at that time was the translation of seven ancient poems, which were considered the finest that had been written in Arabia before the days of Muhammad. This translation was published in 1783.

It has already been stated that Mr. Jones was anxious to obtain an appointment as a judge in India. In March, 1783, he gained the accomplishment of his desire. He was appointed one of the Puisne Judges of the Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal,

and at the same time he had the honour of knighthood conferred upon him. This appointment relieved him from all anxiety as to his income, which had hitherto been very precarious, and he was made quite independent. This being the case, he found himself placed in a position to marry. He had become acquainted, during his residence with Lord and Lady Spencer at Wimbledon, with Miss Shipley, the eldest daughter of Dr. Shipley, afterwards Bishop of St. Asaph, in Wales, and had since continued much attached to her. He had been determined never to be dependent on any one, and therefore delayed asking her to become his wife; but being now in an independent position, he turned to her at once, and he had the happiness of being united to her in April, 1783.

Sir William and Lady Jones left England in H. M. S. *Crocodile* in April 1783, and reached Calcutta after a very long voyage in September. Such a voyage was to most persons very tedious and disagreeable; but Sir William was so indefatigable in study, and so eager to fulfil the duties of the position he was going to occupy in the best way possible, that he had abundance to do on the way, which prevented all lassitude and fatigue. He was welcomed heartily to Calcutta, for his fame had preceded him; and, on his side, he was pleased to leave behind him political cares and dissensions, and looked forward with pleasure to the independence of his position and to the prospect of doing good. But what was most delightful to him was the opportunity afforded him of exploring the fields of Persian and Hindu literature. He had now reached the land to which he had been looking forward for many years. He was among a people whose history, ancient language, and customs he was anxious to study on the spot. After four years' residence in the country, he wrote: "I never was unhappy in England; it was not in my nature to be so; but I never was happy till I was settled in India."

Sir William Jones entered on his judicial duties in December, 1783; and, at the opening of the sessions

delivered his first charge to the grand jury. Not very long before there had been a serious conflict between the Supreme Court and the Government. He alluded to this in a mild and conciliatory manner, and showed that it might have been avoided, and that, as the duties of each were distinct, they ought each to pursue its own course with the one object before them of the public good. This address was received with general satisfaction.

• Very soon after his arrival, Sir William turned his attention to his favourite pursuits, and he proposed the foundation of a Society for the purpose of prosecuting the study of the history, the religions, the archæology, and the literature of Asia. This suggestion was received with much favour by those to whom he proposed it, and the new Society was started at a meeting held in January, 1784. It was called the Bengal Asiatic Society, and was the parent of many other similar institutions, especially the Royal Asiatic Society of London. It has been the means of doing a very great deal of good in stimulating the study of Oriental learning. It was resolved at the first meeting of the members to ask Mr. Warren Hastings, the Governor-General, who had done much to foster and encourage Persian and Sanskrit Literature, to be the first President of the Society. He at once declined the honour, and suggested that Sir William Jones, who had himself proposed the formation of the Society, should be requested to accept the position of its President. "He begged leave," he courteously said in declining, "to resign his pretensions to the gentleman whose genius had planned the institution, and was most capable of conducting it to the attainment • of the great and splendid purposes of its formation." Sir William Jones was then unanimously elected President. He afterwards gave an address at each annual meeting of the Society during his life-time, and his genius gave it a magnificent • start. Three volumes • of the *Asiatic Researches*, as the records of the Society were called, were published during the time he was President. One of these volumes was sent to the President of the Board of Control

for presentation to King George the Third, who expressed "his satisfaction in the progress of the sciences in the British establishment in India, and his approbation of the important undertaking in which Sir William Jones is engaged."

At the first meeting after this Society had been founded, he delivered an address in which he not only gave a description of the object for which it had been instituted, but promised to communicate from time to time the results of his own studies and researches. For this purpose, and to enable him to fulfil more satisfactorily his duties as a judge, he vigorously plunged into the study of Sanskrit. His first object in this study was to qualify himself to examine the authorities quoted by the professors of Hindu law, so that he might take nothing second-hand. He was also anxious to acquire a thorough knowledge of Sanskrit in order to explore the religion and the history of the Hindus by consulting the original documents and records in which they are contained. He threw himself so heartily into this congenial study that he soon attained the object of his ambition, which, as he expressed it, was "to be a match in conversation with the learned natives whom I may happen to meet." Six years afterwards he was able to write: "I jabber Sanskrit every day with the pundits, and hope, before I leave India, to understand it as well as I do Latin." Writing a year later to Warren Hastings, he tells him: "My principal amusement is botany, and the conversation of the pundits, with whom I talk fluently in the language of the gods." The chief literary fruits of his Sanskrit labours were the translation of Kalidasa's celebrated drama *Sakuntala*, which was published in 1789, and the translation of the *Laws of Manu*, which appeared only a short time before his death.

Sir William Jones was very anxious to visit the city of Benares and other places in the interior, so that he might see the country, and gain some insight into the daily life of the Hindus. Accordingly he took advantage of the recess of the Supreme Court from July to October 1784, to

undertake a tour as far as Benares. He had been ailing for some time before leaving Calcutta, and at several places on the way he became very ill, and this much hindered his progress. His friend and biographer, Mr. Shore, afterwards Lord Teignmouth, found him very ill near Murshidabad. At Bhagalpur he remained some weeks, and seems quite to have recovered his health, so that he was able to continue his journey to Benares. He was pleased with all he saw and heard, the scenes being so new and strange to him, although he had often read about them and imagined them. The latter part of his tour seems quite to have reinstated his health, so that he was for some years able to bear the weakening climate of Lower Bengal.

He did not always live in Calcutta, however, although he was obliged to attend the sittings of the Court. He had a house on the banks of the Ganges, five miles from the Court, and it was his custom to go out thither after sunset when he had finished his day's work, and to return early in the morning, generally walking the distance. During the recesses of the Court he retired to Krishnagar, where he bought a small house, and where he enjoyed the leisure and utilized the time in his favourite studies and pursuits. There were many learned Brahmins at Nadiya, with whom he delighted to converse, and from whom he obtained much information regarding Hindu literature and religion. He liked the dry soil and pure air of Krishnagar, and regretted when he had to leave his pleasant cottage there, as he called it, for the more trying work of the Court. The only time when he took a longer excursion was in February 1786, when he went by sea to Chittagong.

Sir William Jones afterwards enjoyed very tolerable health, notwithstanding his constant application to work, both literary and judicial. He was very much troubled, however, by the delicate health of Lady Jones, with whom the climate of India did not agree at all. In fact, he was so apprehensive of the consequences that he continually intended to urge her return to England for the sake of her

health. She was able, in spite of her frequent illnesses, to remain with him ten years. The tenour of his life flowed on very evenly; and, if he had not been so anxious about his wife's health, he would have been perfectly happy. "If the whole legislature of Britain," he wrote to a friend, who had evidently wanted to obtain preferment for him, "were to offer me a different station from that which I now fill, I should most gratefully and respectfully decline it. The character of an ambitious judge is, in my opinion, very dangerous to public justice; and if I were a sole legislator, it should be enacted that every judge should remain for life in the place which he first accepted. This is not the language of a cynic, but of a man who loves his friends, his country, and mankind, who knows the short duration of human life, and who has learned to be contented." He then gives an account of his private life during the sitting of the Court. Seven hours a day were on an average occupied by his judicial duties, one hour was given to his literary work, and one hour in the evening he read aloud to Lady Jones. Busy as he was during the time of his judicial work, he always looked forward to the vacation, when he could retire to his beloved cottage at Krishnagar, where he heard nothing, it is true, of plaintiffs and defendants, but where he had harder work and was more busily employed even than in the great and busy city.

Sir William Jones did not labour at oriental languages simply for the love of them, though he certainly did that; but he was anxious to turn what he knew to practical use, and he wished to be of service not only to his own country but to the country of his adoption. The form in which this could best be done early suggested itself to his genius. He saw how necessary it was that there should be some authoritative code which should state clearly and concisely, both in Sanskrit and Arabic, and in English, the principles that underlie the Hindu and Muhammadan laws in cases of contract and inheritance. It was considered right that all such cases

should be decided according to the respective persuasions of the parties; but the English judges were dependent on the interpretation of the law as laid down by the Hindu pundits or the Muhammadan maulavies. He proposed that a digest of Hindu and Muhammadan law should be prepared, and, as he could not name any other person competent to superintend the work, he offered his own services to Government to do it himself. We think, however, that the proposal regarding this important work, which took up the greater part of his leisure time, and which was really the earthly cause of his death, as he remained in India after Lady Jones had left in order to complete it, ought to be given in his own words. His letter addressed to Lord Cornwallis, then Governor-General of India, is as follows: "It has long been my wish to address the Government of the British dominions in India on the administration of justice among the natives of Bengal and Behar, a subject of equal importance to the appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court at Calcutta, where the judges are required by the legislature to decide controversies between Hindu and Muhammadan parties according to their respective laws of contracts and of succession to property. Nothing indeed could be more obviously just than to determine private contests according to those laws, which the parties themselves had ever considered as the rules of their conduct and engagements in civil life; nor could anything be wiser than, by a legislative act, to assure the Hindu and Mussulman subjects of Great Britain that the private law which they severally held sacred, and a violation of which they would have thought the most grievous oppression, should not be superseded by a new system of which they could have no knowledge, and which they must have considered as imposed on them by a spirit of rigour and intolerance."

"So far the principle of decision between native parties in a cause appears perfectly clear; but the difficulty lies in the application of the principle to practice; for the Hindu

and Mussulman laws are locked up for the most part in two very difficult languages, Sanskrit and Arabic, and, if we give judgment, only from the opinions of the native lawyers and scholars, we can never be sure that we have not been deceived by them."

"The obvious remedy for this evil had occurred to me before I left England. If we had a complete Digest of Hindu and Muhammadan laws, compiled by the most learned of the native lawyers, with an accurate verbal translation into English, we should rarely be at a loss for principles, and rules of law applicable to the cases before us."

"The great difficulty is to find a director of the work and a translator of it, who with a competent knowledge of Sanskrit and Arabic, has a general acquaintance with the principles of jurisprudence, and a sufficient share even of legislative spirit, to arrange the plan of a Digest, superintend the compilation of it, and render the whole into perspicuous English. Now, though I am truly conscious of possessing a very moderate portion of those talents, which I should require in the superintendent of such a work, yet I may without vanity profess myself equal to the labour of it; and though I would much rather see the work well conducted by any man than myself, yet I would rather give myself the trouble of it than not live to see it conducted at all; and I cannot but know that the qualifications required even in the low degree in which I possess them, are not often found united in the same person. If your Lordship, therefore, shall be of opinion that a Digest of Hindu and Muhammadan laws would be a work of national honour and utility, I so cherish both, that I offer the nation my humble labour as far as I can dispose of my time consistently with the faithful discharge of my duty as a Magistrate." The letter from which the more important passages have been given above, was dated March 19, 1788. The Governor-General saw at once how necessary the work thus sketched out was, and how likely it would be to reflect the highest honour on his adminis-

tration; and he gratefully accepted Sir William Jones's disinterested offer, expressing his great satisfaction that a person so eminently qualified for the task should freely render his services from a spirit of pure patriotism and benevolence. Sir William threw his whole heart into this congenial work; but it was a great strain on his strength. His eyes had always been weak, and he did not spare them sufficiently. "I am so intent," he wrote, "upon seeing the Digest of Indian laws completed that I devote my leisure almost entirely to that object; the natives are much pleased with the work; but it is only a preliminary to the security which I hope to see established among our Asiatic subjects." He was engaged on this arduous occupation up to the very end of his life; but it was by no means completed then, and Mr. Colebrooke, the distinguished Sanskrit scholar, took up the unfinished work as it fell from his hands, and published the Digest on the Hindu law.

Notwithstanding this severe application to a very abstruse subject, Sir William Jones sometimes found time to write to friends. One extract must here be given from a letter written on October 20th, 1791, to Mr. Warren Hastings, because it shows the estimate that such a virtuous man had formed of Hastings' character which had been so often traduced. "Before you can receive this," he wrote, "you will, I doubt not, have obtained a complete triumph over your persecutors; and your character will have risen, not brighter indeed, but more conspicuously bright, from the furnace of their persecution." He was looking forward, however, to returning to his native land some day, when, according to the ideal, which he frequently pictured, he might enjoy what he considered the happiest period of a man's life, when he could have literary leisure and be free from official work. He had for years conceived the project of a long heroic poem in blank verse on the discovery of Britain, in which he could introduce his high ideas on the government and the state. Writing to the eminent botanist Sir Joseph Banks, he said: "The

last twenty years of my life I shall spend, I trust, in a studious retreat; and if you know of a pleasant country-house to be disposed of in your part of Middlesex, with pasture-ground for my cattle, and garden-ground enough for my amusement, have the goodness to inform me of it." "I have not enough," he wrote to another friend, "to establish that absolute independence which has been the chief end and aim of my life; and I must stay in this country a few years longer." This object and the preparation of the Digest kept him in India; but He who has the sovereign power over life and death, had other purposes for him.

In March, 1793, Sir William's great friend, Sir John Shore, returned to Calcutta with a commission to succeed Lord Cornwallis as Governor-General on his retirement. He was gratified at welcoming this friend again. The health of Lady Jones had, for some time past, been very precarious, and the doctors had often urged her return to England, as the only means of prolonging her life. Her affection to her husband had hitherto prevented her from following this advice, but now she agreed to comply with it, and embarked for England in December, 1793. He fully intended to follow her the next season, when he thought his engagement with the Government on the Digest would be ended. In his last letter to Sir John Shore he wrote. "I will follow her as soon as I can, for although I shall have more than enough to supply all the wants of a man who would rather have been Cincinnatus with his plough than Lucullus with all his wealth (being a reference to old Roman History), yet I wish to complete the system of Indian laws while I remain in India, because I wish to perform whatever I promise with the least possible imperfection; and in so difficult a work doubts must arise, which the pundits alone can remove." We give another extract from the letter in which the above passage occurs, because it is the latest expression of his affection for his friend and biographer, and because the sentiment expressed is in harmony with succeeding events. Sir

John Shore had recently heard of the deaths of two of his children in England, and in endeavouring to offer him true consolation in his sorrow, Sir William Jones said: "I felt more for you than I should for most men on so melancholy an occasion, because I well know the sensibility of your heart. The only topic of consolation happily presented itself to you: reason perhaps might convince us that the death of a created being never happens without the will of the Creator, who governs this world by a special interposition of His providential care; but, as this is a truth which Revelation expressly teaches us, our only true comfort in affliction must be derived from Christian philosophy, which, so far from encouraging us to stifle our natural feelings, that even the divine Author of it wept on the death of a friend. This doctrine, though superfluous to you, is always present to my mind."

The absence of his wife took the heart out of all Sir William Jones's pursuits during the few months that elapsed after it. She had helped to sweeten his hours of toil, and to cheer his times of relaxation. Although he went out a little more into general European society, he was unhappy and often dejected. Either on the evening of April 20, 1794, or about that date, he called on Sir John Shore, after having been out walking longer than usual, and complained of aguish symptoms. He mentioned that he was going to take some medicine, and laughingly repeated an old proverb, "An ague in the spring is medicine for a king." He was unaware, however, that the real nature of his complaint was the more serious disease, inflammation of the liver. This was discovered when the doctor was called in, but too late. Unhappily his servants did not inform Sir John Shore how seriously ill he was; but, on the morning of Sunday, April 27, alarmed at the idea of his approaching death, they hurriedly ran to his house to let him know their fears. Sir John went to him at once. "He was lying," to use the exact words of his biographer, "on his bed in a posture of meditation; and the only

SIR WILLIAM JONES,

symptom of remaining life was a small degree of motion in the heart, which after a few seconds ceased, and he expired without a pang or groan. His bodily suffering, from the complacency of his features and the ease of his attitude, could not have been severe; and his mind must have derived consolation from those sources where he had been in the habit of seeking it, and where, alone, in our last moments, it can ever be found." Sir John Shore never ceased to regret the fact that his friend's attendants had not told him of his serious illness, and thus prevented him from having the sad pleasure of soothing the last moments of one to whom he was so deeply attached. Thus fell asleep, at the early age of forty-seven, the first oriental scholar of his day and one of the best of men.

There is no doubt about the genius of Sir William Jones. It was chiefly displayed in the acquisition of languages; but he was equally eminent in the learning of law, and in lighter studies than these. It was a favourite idea of his that all men have an equal capacity for improvement, and that those who fail to attain superior learning or eminence, do so on account of their not having sufficiently exerted themselves. After a conversation on this subject in which Sir William had maintained this view, a friend sent him the following lines, to which he replied *impromptu* in verses that show his modesty as well as his genius:

' Sir William, you attempt in vain
By depth of reason to maintain,
That all men's talents are the same,
And they, not Nature, are to blame.
Whate'er you say, whate'er you write,
Proves your opponents in the right. „
Lest genius should be ill-defined,
I term it your superior mind,
Hence to your friends 'tis plainly shewn,
You're ignorant of yourself alone."

•

SIR WILLIAM JONES'S ANSWER.

“ Ah ! but too well, dear friend, I know
 My fancy weak, my reason slow,
 My memory by art improved,
 My mind by baseless trifles moved.
 Give me (thus high my pride I raise)
 The Ploughman's or the Gardener's praise,
 With patient and unceasing toil,
 To meliorate a stubborn soil.
 And say, (no higher meed I ask)
 With zeal hast thou performed thy task,
 Praise, of which virtuous minds may boast,
 They best confer, who merit most.”

Notwithstanding this, Sir William, in addition to intellect of a high order, possessed a marvellous capacity for diligence. He was industrious to an eminent degree. From his earliest years he was well-known for his great perseverance. Even as a school-boy, he employed, as we have seen, his leisure time during his holidays in prosecuting studies for which boys of his age seldom cared, and thus he became acquainted with the literature of other European countries besides his own. The reason for his being able to get through so much, was the careful manner in which he managed his time. A card written in his own hand, describing the work which he desired to get through during one of the vacations of his Court, is given here as a specimen of his carefully planned studies.

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DAILY STUDIES FOR THE LONG VACATION OF 1785.

Morning.—One letter. Ten Chapters of the Bible.
 Sanskrit Grammar. Hindu Law, &c.

Afternoon.—Indian Geography.

Evening.—Roman History. Chess. Ariosto.

On a scrap found among his papers the following well-known lines of Sir Edward Coke, one of the great authorities on English law, were transcribed.

SIR WILLIAM JONES,

SIR EDWARD COKE.

"Six hours in sleep, in law's grave study six,
Four spend in prayer,—the rest on nature fix."

He wrote under these lines what he considered an improved version of them.

RATHER.

"Seven hours to law, to soothing slumber seven,
Ten to the world allot, and *all* to Heaven."

It was by the careful arrangement of time, he was able to get through so much.

Sir William Jones was a high-minded and fearless judge. He himself, in his first charge, informed the grand jury at Calcutta that he aspired to no popularity, and sought no praise but that which might be given to a strict and conscientious discharge of duty, without predilection or prejudice of any kind, and with a fixed resolution to pronounce on all occasions what he conceived to be the law, than which no individual must suppose himself wiser. "The inflexible integrity with which he discharged the solemn duty of this station," wrote his biographer, "will long be remembered in Calcutta, both by Europeans and Natives." One way in which he kept himself free from parties and preserved his impartiality, was that he always refrained from asking favours and appointments for private friends.

His great power as a linguist helped him considerably in his judicial duties, more particularly when he had to deal with the principles of Hindu or Muhammadan law. Considering the great strain which the study and the practice of law, whether as a barrister or as a judge, entails on the constitution and the intellect of any lawyer, we wonder all the more when we consider the extensive acquirements of Sir William Jones in various branches of literature and science; but he was pre-eminently a linguist. The following list, stating the number of languages which

he knew, was found after his death on a paper in his handwriting :

LANGUAGES.

Eight languages studied critically: English, Latin, French, Italian, Greek, Arabic, Persian, Sanscrit. Eight studied less perfectly but all intelligible with a dictionary: Spanish, Portuguese, German, Runick, Hebrew, Bengali, Hindi, Turkish. Twelve studied less perfectly, but all attainable Tibetan, Pali, Pahlavi, Deri, Russian, Syriac, Ethiopic, Coptic.

Though he devoted himself heartily and persistently to the study of Sanskrit after his arrival in India, he was no less diligent in his Persian and Arabic studies. We read that, during his short holiday at Chittagong, he found time, in addition to his other occupations, to read through twice the poem of Firdausi, which was supposed to contain some sixty thousand couplets.

Sir William Jones kept in his employ a large staff of pundits and writers, the expense of which was very considerable. It is said that he paid his Sanskrit Munshi Rs. 500 a month; and when he made known to the Government his proposal regarding a Digest of Hindu and Muhammadan Law, he stated that he would himself cheerfully have borne the whole expense of it, which he knew would be great, if his establishment of readers and writers, which he could not then discontinue without inconvenience, did not require more than half of the monthly expense that the compilation of such a digest would demand.

His intercourse with both Hindus and Muhamadans was very extensive. His manner towards them was most kind and courteous, and he counted many of those with whom he was more intimately connected as his friends. "The pundits who were in the habit of attending him," Sir John Shore remarked, "when I saw them at a public *darbar*, a few days after his death, could

neither restrain their tears for his loss, nor find terms to express their admiration at the wonderful progress which he had made in the sciences which they professed."

Sir William was peculiarly tender-hearted even to the animal creation. He was very fond of botany, a study which he could freely prosecute without giving pain; but he shrank from other parts of natural history, because of the cruelty to living creatures which it entailed. "I never could learn by what right," to use his own words on the subject, "nor conceive with what feelings, a naturalist can occasion the misery of an innocent bird, and leave its young, perhaps, to perish in a cold nest, because it has gay plumage, and has never been accurately delineated, or deprive even a butterfly of its natural enjoyments, because it has the misfortune to be rare or beautiful: nor shall I ever forget the couplet of Firdausi:

"Ah! spare yon emmet, rich in hoarded grain;
He lives with pleasure, and he dies with pain."

The good and great man whose life we are considering was pre-eminently a Christian. When he was in the twenty-fourth year of his age, some doubts regarding the proof of the truth of the religion in which he had been brought up seem to have troubled his mind; and feeling the necessity of examining it just as carefully as if he had not been trained in the Christian faith, he made the resolve to read the whole of the Holy Scriptures in the original languages in which they were written, that he might be enabled to form a correct judgment of the connection between the two parts, and of the evidence regarding them, both internal and external. This study confirmed him in the belief of their truth, and he appears never afterwards to have wavered in his attachment to the religion of Christ.

He was always a diligent student of the Bible. The following statement in his hand-writing was found in his own copy of the sacred volume:—"I have carefully and regularly perused these Holy Scriptures, and am of opinion that the volume, independently of its divine origin, con-

tains more sublimity, purer morality, more important history, and finer strains of eloquence, than can be collected from all other books, in whatever language they may have been written." He repeated these sentiments in one of his public addresses on Asiatic literature, and he added to his statement these words: "The two parts of which the Scriptures consist, are connected by a chain of compositions, which bear no resemblance in form or style to any that can be produced from the stores of Grecian, Indian, Persian, or even Arabian learning; the antiquity of those compositions no man doubts; and the unstrained application of them to events long subsequent to their publication, is a solid ground of belief that they were genuine compositions, and consequently inspired." The fulfilment of the prophecies contained in the Bible particularly struck him, and fixed itself indelibly on the historical faculty which was so prominent in his mind.

The heart of Sir William Jones would doubtless have rejoiced at the translation of the Scriptures into so many languages of India as they are now. Among the many objects of inquiry during his residence in Asia, which he wrote down during his outward voyage, two were, to print and publish the Gospel of St. Luke in Arabic and the Psalms of David in Persian verse. In a dissertation published in 1786 he wrote, as a vindication of his sincere desire to ascertain clearly the truth and nothing but the truth: "I, who cannot help believing the divinity of the Messiah, from the undisputed antiquity and manifest completion of many prophecies, especially those of Isaiah, in the only person recorded by history to whom they are applicable, am obliged, of course, to believe the sanctity of the venerable books to which that sacred person refers as genuine; but it is not the truth of our national religion as such, that I have at heart. It is TRUTH itself." Entertaining such ideas as these, Sir William Jones mentions several sad obstacles to the extension of "our pure faith" in India. "The only human mode perhaps of causing so great a revolution," he emphatically said, "is to translate

into Sanskrit and Persian, such chapters of the prophets, and particularly Isaiah, as are indisputably evangelical, together with one of the Gospels, and a plain prefatory discourse containing full evidence of the very distant ages, in which the predictions themselves and the history of the divine person predicted were severally made public, and then quietly to disperse the work among the well-educated natives, with whom, if in due time it failed of promoting very salutary fruit by its natural influence, we could only lament more than ever the strength of prejudice and weakness of unassisted reason." Just a few months before Sir William Jones died, a young and friendless missionary * arrived in Calcutta; and ere long, did more than any one before him to give the Gospel in their own living tongues to the Hindus of Bengal, and to help forward other translations of the sacred volume.

Having this faith in the truth of the Scriptures, it is needless to say that Sir William Jones was a thoroughly devout man. His sincere desire was to be perfectly submissive to the will of God in all things, and to be guided and directed by Him in every event of life. When he was lying ill during his journey in 1784, and he was reduced to a state of great weakness, he composed a brief prayer, which his biographer rescued from oblivion, and we insert it here because it is an indication of the genuine feelings of his mind at the solemn season when death seemed to be drawing near, and because it is the composition of a man who was not by profession a minister in the Church of Christ. "O Thou Bestower of all good," he wrote, "if it please thee to continue my easy tasks in this life, grant me strength to perform them as a faithful servant; but if thy wisdom hath willed to end them by this thy visitation, admit me, not weighing my unworthiness, but through thy mercy declared in Christ, into thy heavenly mansions, that I may continually advance in happiness, by advancing in true knowledge and awful love of thee. Thy will be done."

* Dr. William Carey.

This was the key-note to his whole life. His legal studies, his judicial work, his marvellous acquaintance with oriental literature, were all undertaken with a sincere desire for the good of mankind and under the direction of a powerful mind and strong will rendered submissive to the divine will and thoroughly imbued with Christian faith, hope, and love. The India of the present day owes a debt of gratitude to the pure life and the unwearied researches of Sir William Jones.

SIR WILLIAM JONES'S LIFE.

The following touching letter was written by Lady Jones to Mr. Charles Grant, who had been a great friend of her husband's, and it is here quoted as throwing a side light upon Sir William's Christian character. It is dated January 29, 1795 :

"I have just got a set of Barrow's sermons which my dear Sir William was very fond of. My brother read me one last night on submission to the Divine will (which I remembered my beloved friend selected to read to me when I received the afflicting news of my father's death). I was greatly affected : but I think it has more strongly impressed my mind with the duty of submission ; but surely, if I did truly and sincerely submit, I should not so often be so dejected as I am. You, who know how we lived, will allow I have cause to grieve ; but have I not also cause to be thankful for having so lived with such a friend, as few can glory in like happiness, or consequently lament the like loss ? But I must not intrude on your valuable time by indulging myself any longer on the only subject my heart is filled with."



REGINALD HEBER,

Bishop of Calcutta.

REGINALD HEBER,
THE SWEET SINGER AND MISSIONARY
BISHOP.

BY

HENRY MORRIS,

(MADRAS CIVIL SERVICE, *Retired*),

Author of "Anglo-Indian Worthies," "The History of the Godavery District,"
"A Simplified Telugu Grammar," and other works.

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1901.

REGINALD HEBER,

THE SWEET SINGER AND MISSIONARY BISHOP.

FROM A. D. 1783 To A. D. 1826.

“ Not for ambition nor for gain,
Took he the overseeing on himself
Of that wide flock dispersed,
Thither devoted to the work he went,
Forsaking friends and kin,
Books, leisure, privacy ;
There spent his precious life,
There left his holy dust.”

Southey.

ONE of the sweetest and holiest men that ever trod the shores of India was Reginald Heber, Bishop of Calcutta. The greater part of his short life was spent in hard, but pleasant, work in England, and his fame as a minister, as a poet, and as a literary man was won in his own country ; but, although he was scarcely three years in India, the influence of his noble character was so great and the memory of his brief sojourn there is so fragrant, that his is one of the lives of those whom India should hold in reverence, and which ought to be recorded in the roll of Anglo-Indian worthies.

Reginald Heber was born at Malpas, in the county of Cheshire, on April 21, 1783. His father was the clergyman of the parish, that is, the civil and ecclesiastical division of the county, and of the adjoining parish of Hodnet in Shropshire. He was also the squire or chief landowner of the place. From his earliest infancy Reginald

was thoughtful, pious, and studious. When quite a little child, he was impressed by the sense of the presence of God. One day, when he was sitting on his mother's knee as they were being driven through a thunder-storm, observing that she was frightened, he said, "Do not be afraid, God will take care of us." This quiet piety increased with his advancing years. He grew in faith and trust. Everything he did was done in prayer and in dependence on the divine help. When, as a young man, he gained one of the highest honours at the University of Oxford, his mother afterwards found him in his own room on his knees, thanking God for having permitted him to gain this great distinction. The cause of this was, that he had been taught by his parents to love and venerate the blessed book which Christians regard as the word of God. He constantly read and studied it; and, from his earliest years, learned from its pages lessons of piety and wisdom.

He was sent at the early age of eight to the Grammar School, as it was called, at Whitchurch in the county of Shropshire; and a few years later, when thirteen, he was placed under the care of a clergyman, named Bristow, living at Neasdon in the neighbourhood of London, who took private pupils. One of his companions here was John Thornton, nephew of Mr. Henry Thornton, the distinguished member of Parliament and philanthropist, with whom he formed a life-long friendship. At this time he was not only engaged in the ordinary subjects of school study, but he also read several books which are not usually liked by boys, especially works of poetry; and the foundation of literary excellence and eminence was securely laid. He was fond of taking long walks by himself with a book in his pocket as companion; but his temper was so placid and happy that this tendency to seclusion did not make him morose. He was also very fond of drawing and painting.

In November, 1800, Reginald Heber entered Brasenose College, Oxford, of which his father had been a fellow.

His half-brother, Richard Heber, was, at that time, a fellow of the same College, and, as he had been very helpful in assisting Reginald in his studies, a little delay in entering was made in order that he might be present on the occasion. This brother was one of the most notable collectors of books. He had an enormous library of books, especially of those that were choice and rare. Reginald Heber was a diligent and careful student; and, when he left Oxford, he was the most distinguished man of his year. The event of his University career by which he is best known was his gaining the prize for English verse. The subject was "Palestine," and it admirably suited the poetic genius and the tender piety of his mind. It is one of the very few prize-poems that have lived, and it has become a cherished portion of English literature. Before this poem was finished, Sir Walter Scott, the celebrated novelist and poet, was one morning in Heber's room at a breakfast-party before starting on an excursion in the neighbourhood, when the conversation turned to the subject of the poem, which was then read aloud. Sir Walter Scott, while heartily praising it, remarked that no reference had been made to the striking fact that no tools were used in building the magnificent temple of Solomon. Heber at once perceived the justice of this criticism; and, retiring for a few minutes, wrote the well-known lines which form, perhaps, the most impressive passage in the poem. They are as follows:—

"No hammer fell, no ponderous axes rung;
Like some tall palm the mystic fabric sprung.
Majestic silence!"

The whole poem is well worthy the careful perusal of the student of English literature.

Soon after the close of his University course, Reginald Heber, at the desire of his mother and elder brother, went for a long tour on the continent of Europe. It was a time of warfare and of strife, so it was impossible for him and his travelling companion, John Thornton, to go through

France and the south of Europe. Their way was, therefore, through the north-east of Europe, returning through the centre. They went through Norway, Sweden, and Russia, coming back through Austria and Germany. This tour did much to strengthen and enlarge Mr. Heber's mind and views. He wrote a full account of his journey, which shows what an accurate observer he was of scenery and the manners of those with whom he came in contact; but they need not be further mentioned here. They materially helped to train his mind for the acuteness of his observation when, later on, he extensively travelled through India. This tour lasted from July 1805 to October 1806.

Mr. Heber's father died in February, 1804. He had the satisfaction of listening to his son's recitation of the prize poem "Palestine," but was soon afterwards taken ill, and his death made a deep impression on his son's mind, which was never effaced.

After taking the degree of B. A., Reginald Heber was elected a Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford. On the return from his tour, he went to the University for further reading and study, and, his mind having been strongly inclined to the sacred work of the ministry, he was ordained in the summer of 1807, and he succeeded his father as Rector of Hodnet. It seems necessary here to say a few words on this subject to those of our readers who may not be Christians. The Christian ministry is not hereditary and is not confined to a certain sacred caste. Those only who themselves desire to enter on the office, and who are considered to be fitted for it by their piety and learning, are set apart for it. Sometimes mistakes are made in this matter; but great care and pains are taken that only worthy men are chosen for what is a very responsible duty. In the national Church of England the higher rank of ministers called Bishops are entrusted with the duty of selection; and, after due examination, the candidates are set apart for the office, first of the lower grade of 'deacon,' and afterwards of 'presbyter' or priest, by the ceremony

of ordination. They are then appointed to some ministerial charge, either independently, as was the case with Mr. Heber, or under some more experienced minister. Their duties are to conduct divine service, to preach the Gospel of Christ, to visit and console the sick, the dying, and the afflicted, and to do all that lies within their power to reclaim the vicious and depraved.

Reginald Heber was most diligent and sincere in every part of these holy duties. He carefully visited those who from sickness or other infirmity needed his help, and did not fail to warn the wrong-doer. At one time he was most persistent in visiting those who had been attacked by a virulent sore-throat, and he caught it himself, and was very ill from it. Having ample means, he was most generous in giving to those who were in want. It was said of him that "he had so much pleasure in conferring kindness, that he often declared it was an exceeding indulgence of God to promise a reward for that carried with it its own recompense. He considered himself as the mere steward of God's bounty, and felt that in sharing his fortune with the poor he was only making the proper use of the talents committed to him, without any consciousness of merit."

In April, 1809, Reginald Heber was married to Miss Amelia Shipley, daughter of Dr. Shipley, Dean of St. Asaph, in Wales, who was also vicar or parish minister of Wrexham. He was heartily attached to her and the union was very happy. Soon after his marriage, it was found necessary to pull down the old house at Hodnet in which he had been residing, and to rebuild it; but, while the new building was in course of erection, he and his wife lived in another part of the same parish. Their new home was the scene of abundant and happy labours, both literary and ministerial. It was situated in a most picturesque part of the country. Fertile valleys and sloping hills, woods and pasture lands, cornfields and hamlets were beautifully combined, and rendered the spot a charming retreat for learned labour. Here Reginald Heber was for

about fifteen years busily employed not only in his pastoral work, which was his chief duty, and which he never neglected, but also in literary work which made him famous in the world and useful to the Church. He frequently wrote articles for the *Quarterly Review*, one of the chief magazines in England, which had then been recently commenced; and he was also occupied in writing books and poems. The work, however, which made that period of his life most fruitful was the preparation of several hymns, or sacred songs for use in divine service. Most of these are still great favourites, and have since been included in all English collections of Christian hymns. One of them especially has been in constant use, and has been a strong stimulus to missionary effort. One day—it was Saturday, May 29, 1819, five days after the birth of Queen Victoria,—he was staying at Wrexham with his father-in-law, who, on the following morning, was to preach a missionary sermon in his Church. Dr. Shipley suddenly turned and asked him to write something for the congregation to sing on this occasion. Withdrawing to a corner of the room, he soon produced the first three verses of the well-known hymn which begins,

“ From Greenland’s icy mountains,
From India’s coral strand.”

When he had read them over, the Dean exclaimed, “There, there, that will do very well.” “No,” replied Heber, “the sense is not complete,” and added the fourth verse. He earnestly pleaded for leave to write another; but the Dean would not let him, and the hymn as we now have it was sung at the service next morning. We strongly advise our readers to procure and study this hymn.

Several honours were bestowed on Mr. Heber at this time. He was appointed in 1815 to deliver the Bampton Lectures in the University of Oxford, which were a series of lectures written every year on some subject connected with the defence and maintenance of the Christian religion.

In 1822 he was appointed preacher at Lincoln's Inn, London, which is one of the places where lawyers are trained, and the chapel attached to it is attended by some of the most intellectual barristers of the day. He was thus becoming known to a wider circle than to those living in his own neighbourhood and parish. It should here be mentioned that a little girl was born to him in the summer of 1818; but, to his very great sorrow, she died when only six months old. In 1821 another little one was born, and helped to cheer and comfort his heart.

We now come to the time when Reginald Heber's happy home in England and his increasing influence and prospects in that country were to be given up for work, quite as useful, but far more wearying, in India. The news of the death of Dr. Middleton, Bishop of Calcutta, reached England at the end of November, 1822; and the Right Honorable C. W. Williams Wynn, an old college friend of Heber's, who was President of the Board of Control, and who was the proper person to nominate to the king some suitable clergyman for the post, wrote at once to Heber asking him, if he could not accept it himself, to mention some one to him. Twice he declined on account of the separation which Mrs. Heber would have to undergo from her child; but at last a strong sense of duty compelled him to accept what, at his age, was an arduous and dangerous post. In reply to Mr. Wynn he wrote: "The sacrifice which I would not make for the sake of wealth and dignity, both of us will cheerfully make in order to prevent any serious inconvenience to a cause of so much importance." To his dear friend, John Thornton, he wrote: "Pray for me that my life and doctrine may be such as they ought to be; that I may be content in my station, active in my duty, and firm in my faith, and that, when I have preached to others, I may not myself be a castaway." Animated by such humble sentiments as these, Mr. Heber accepted his new appointment. He had for many years taken a deep interest in India and its inhabitants, and his heart was strongly drawn towards

them. "I think," he said at this time, "I think I can be of use among the Hindus; such will at least be my earnest endeavour, and I am very zealous in the cause; and if I am permitted but to rescue one Brahmin from his wretched superstition, I shall think myself amply repaid for all I sacrifice."

Reginald Heber was consecrated Bishop of Calcutta on Sunday, June 1, 1823, in the chapel of Lambeth Palace. He had now become one of the chief pastors of the Church of England, whose duty it was to rule and supervise the clergy who were placed under him, and to occupy the highest position among the Christians living in India. "I was much affected;" he wrote, "God grant that the feelings so excited may be permanent. When you read what I then undertook, by His help, to observe and do, you will not wonder that I was agitated." On the following Saturday he had a private audience of George the Third, who was then King of England, and who was very infirm; but Bishop Heber thought, contrary to his expectation, that his Majesty was looking like a hale man of eight-and-forty." A farewell address was given him by the Committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, in whose service the venerable missionary Schwartz had been, and which had several missionaries then in India. To this he replied in a speech, the pathos of which touched the heart of every one who was present. Sir Robert Harry Inglis, a distinguished politician, who was an eye-witness of the scene, thus describes it, "I was equally delighted and surprised," he wrote, "to hear him speak though with feelings justly and naturally excited, with a command of language, and with a fulness and freedom of thought, and at the same time a caution which became one addressing such a Society at such a time, and every word would be watched in India as well as in England. We shall long remember the sensation he produced when he declared that his last hope would be to be the chief missionary of the Society in the East, and the emotion with which we all knelt down at the close, sor-

rowing most of all that we should see his face no more." The declaration made in this speech that his last hope was to be the Society's "chief missionary in the East" contained the key-note of his brief labours in India. The severe wrench which he felt in leaving England, and more especially in bidding farewell to his beloved mother and sister, is clearly shown in the touching words which he addressed to them on his departure; and yet they show at the same time the true reason for his accepting the office offered him, and the high and unselfish object he set before himself. "I think and hope," he said to his mother, "I am going on God's service. I am not conscious of any unworthy or secular ends, and I hope for his blessing and protection both for myself and for those dear persons who accompany me, and whom I leave behind. God Almighty bless and prosper you, my beloved mother. May He comfort and support your age, and teach you to seek comfort, where it may be found, in His health and salvation through Jesus Christ our Lord. Believe me that we shall be, I hope, useful, and if useful, happy, where we are going; and we trust in God's good providence for bringing us again together in peace, when a few short years are ended, in this world, if he sees it good for us; if not, yet in that world where there shall be no parting nor sorrow any more."

On June 16, 1823, Bishop Heber, with Mrs. Heber and their little two-year-old daughter, embarked on board the *Thomas Grenville*, East Indiaman. He was very diligent during the voyage, and applied himself heartily to the study of Urdu and Persian. He attempted, even at this early stage, to translate some of the Gospel of St. John into the former; and amused himself by putting some of his Persian lessons into English verse. He had prayers on board every day, besides the naval services on Sunday, and ministered to the spiritual wants of the passengers and sailors.

The Bishop reached Calcutta on October 10. The last part of the passage up the Hooghly was performed in the

Government yacht which was sent down to fetch him by the Governor-General, and in which the Rev. Daniel Corrie, the senior chaplain, and the Rev. Dr. Mill, Principal of Bishop's College, went to meet him. Old Government House had been placed at his disposal, and very glad were Mrs. Heber and he to arrive there after their four months' voyage. We cannot refrain from reproducing the prayer which the Bishop wrote to express their gratitude for the mercies of this long voyage and for their safe arrival. It is as follows: "Accept, O blessed Lord, my hearty thanks for the protection which Thou hast vouchsafed to me and mine during a long and dangerous voyage and through many strange and unwholesome climates. Extend to us, I beseech Thee, Thy fatherly protection and love in the land where we now dwell, and among the perils to which we are now liable. Give us health, strength, and peace of mind; give us friends in a strange land, and favour in the eyes of those around us; give us so much of this world's good as thou knowest to be good for us; and be pleased to give us grace to love Thee truly, and constantly to praise and bless Thee, through Thy dear son Jesus Christ, our Saviour. Amen."

On the day after his arrival, Bishop Heber went to Government House to be introduced to Lord Amherst, who was then in the early months of his career as Governor-General. The time at which he set foot on the shores of India was one of profound peace. The masterly plans of the Marquis of Hastings had been successful. The Pindari War and the great Mahratta War had been brought to a favourable conclusion. Central India had been subdued, and tranquillity bestowed upon its inhabitants, which they had not known for centuries. The only cloud on the political horizon was on the eastern coast of the Bay of Bengal, where the insolent behaviour of the king of Ava was preparing the way for war in Burma. Bishop Heber did not interfere in any wise with the affairs of Government, and his duties drew him only to the management of ecclesiastical things. We are, therefore,

led away, while considering his life, from the affairs of State, and drawn towards higher and holier matters. His example had, however, a hallowing and sweetening influence on European society in Calcutta and other places which he visited, and gave an impetus to all that was seemly and becoming among Christians in India. He kept a very full journal describing all his impressions, engagements, and tours, and much that he wrote in it casts a clear and interesting side-light on the political events which took place after his arrival.

His first five months were spent in Calcutta and its neighbourhood. It was a time of hard and unremitting toil. He had to keep up an incessant correspondence with the chaplains in Bengal, Madras, Bombay, and Ceylon. He had to preach two or three times a week, and he was frequently engaged in attending the meetings of the Bible and Missionary societies in Calcutta. All this was in a climate, which, coming to India rather later in life than other Englishmen, he felt to be very trying. His wife and child suffered from the closeness of the house which had been placed at their disposal in Fort William, but derived great benefit from a short sojourn at Titaghar on the river close to the Governor-General's residence at Barrackpore; and, on their return to Calcutta, they had a larger and more airy house to live in. While at Titaghar, Bishop Heber called on the well-known Baptist missionaries at Serampore and afterwards asked them to the house where he was. "The chief missionary" of the English Church was only too glad to hold out the right hand of fellowship to all who loved the same Lord and were labouring in His service. "Dr. Marshman," he recorded in his journal, "dined with me. Dr. Carey is too lame to go out. The talents and learning of these good men are so well known in Europe that I need hardly say that, important as are the points on which we differ, I sincerely admire and respect them, and desire their acquaintance." A few months later he stated publicly, when referring to the progress already made in the

spread of Christianity, his admiration of the self-dedicating labours of these useful and devoted men. "Bear witness," he said, "those numerous believers of our own immediate neighborhood, with whom, though we differ on many, and, doubtless, on very important points, I should hate myself if I could regard them as any other than my brethren and fellow-servants in the Lord."

The intercourse which Bishop Heber enjoyed with Lord and Lady Amherst while he was staying at Titaghar served to cement the friendship between them, the strength of which is revealed in Lady Amherst's journal. His first hot weather was spent in his new house in Calcutta in continuous work, which, although trying, does not seem to have affected his health to any considerable extent. His first ordination was that of a Tamil Christian who had been labouring in Ceylon, and who had travelled to Calcutta from Madras by land for the purpose. He was strongly recommended by the Governor of Ceylon. We think it well to give the account of this ordination in his own words. "I have had," he wrote, "a very interesting and awful ceremony to perform in the ordination of Christian David, a native of Malabar, and pupil of Schwartz. He passed an exceedingly good examination, and gave much satisfaction to everybody by his modesty, good sense, and good manners. God grant that his ministration may be blessed to his own salvation and that of many others." On May 27, 1824, the Bishop delivered his first charge at six o'clock in the morning. There are some passages in it which ought to be quoted because they show the spirit in which he had entered on his sacred duties. He held up before the chaplains of the East India Company the noble ideal which it would have been well if each one who then held that office, and who have since held it, had aimed at. He pressed on them the solemn duty, laid down in the old Charter of the Company, of "the attentive and grammatical study of some one of the native languages so as to endeavour the conversion of his heathen neighbours." Then alluding to missionary

effort, he said: "It is with no common thankfulness to God that I see the Episcopal chair of Calcutta now first surrounded by those who are missionaries themselves, as well as by those who are engaged in the important office of educating youth for the future service of missions." "I regard it," he added, "as one among the most favourable signs of the present times that, while Providence has, in a manner visible and almost miraculous, prepared a highway in the wilderness of the world for the progress of His truth, and made the ambition, the commerce, the curiosity, and enterprise of mankind His implements in opening a more effectual door to His Gospel, the call thus given has been answered by a display of zeal unexampled since the period of the Reformation; and America and England have united with Denmark and Germany to send forth a host of valiant and victorious confessors to bear the banner of the Cross where darkness and death have hitherto spread their broadest shadows."

Bishop Heber had for some time been looking forward to visiting his large diocese. He received the advice that the beginning of the south-west monsoon was the most suitable time to commence this tour. Accordingly on June 15, 1824, he embarked for a voyage up the Ganges to Benares, intending to march through Rajputana and other parts of Upper India to Bombay, and to go thence to Ceylon. He had hoped that Mrs. Heber would have accompanied him; but it was thought advisable for her to remain behind, and she afterwards joined him at Bombay. He was attended by his chaplain, the Rev. Martin Stow, who, to his great grief, died while they were at Dacca. He was subsequently accompanied during part of the tour by his dear friends, Archdeacon and Mrs. Corrie, the former of whom became the first Bishop of Madras. We may mention in passing, as one of the side-lights of history to which we have alluded, that the English residents of Calcutta were seized at that time with panic, imagining that the Burmese were about to invade Bengal, and they thought the Bishop little better than a madman for venturing so far as Dacca.

In fact, his long tour, considering the high position he held, was of some service in assuring men's minds of the calm stability of English rule, even though this was very far from his own thoughts.

The Bishop much enjoyed the weird scenery of his upward voyage. The various incidents on the way, the evening walk on the bank of the river, the scenery which was sometimes very beautiful, the sudden squalls which now and again overtook them, struck his imagination, and he produced two charming poems which have rendered this voyage famous. One began, *Verses to His Wife*.

" If thou wert by my side, my love,
How fast would evening fail.
In green Bengala's palmy grove,
Listening the nightingale !

The other began,

" Our task is done ! on Gunga's breast
The sun is sinking down to rest."

Both are worthy of perusal as sweet descriptions of the scenery in Bengal. We give here, however, a prose description of the same scenes. He is speaking of the evening walks after his boat was moored, "which wanted only society to make them delightful, when amid the scent of night-blowing flowers, the soft whisper of waving palms, and the warbling of the nightingale, watching the innumerable fireflies, like airy glow-worms, floating, rising, and sinking in the gloom of the bamboo woods, and gazing on the mighty river with the unclouded breadth of a tropical moon sleeping on its surface, I felt in my heart it is good to be here."

He was very much impressed not only with the beauty of the hills of Santalia, but also with the freedom and simplicity of its inhabitants. He was much taken with the account of Augustus Cleveland, the cousin and friend of Lord Teignmouth, who did so much in so short a time, for this primitive people ; and, being convinced of

their readiness to receive the Gospel, he undertook at once to send to Bhagulpore, as a good centre, a young clergyman named Christian, who had been educated at Bishop's College, Calcutta. His opinion of this people on such slight acquaintance seems almost prophetic, for the Santals, as well as other aboriginal tribes, have shown a willingness to receive the truths of the Gospel of Christ. "This people," he remarked, "being free from the yoke of caste seems to make them less unlikely to receive the Gospel than the inhabitants of the plain."

It is impossible in this brief narrative to mention even a fraction of the places where Bishop Heber stayed in this prolonged tour. We can only refer to a few of those in which there was something which particularly struck him, or any event occurred which we think ought to be recorded. At Benares he spent a very happy and a very fruitful Sunday. At six in the morning he took part in the Indian Christian service, using for the first time in public the Hindustani language. He held a confirmation service. He consecrated, that is, publicly set apart for worship, a new church. In the evening he preached in the English Church, and administered the Holy Communion to sixty persons, fourteen of whom were Indian Christians, to whom he used the Hindustani language in giving them the bread and wine and in pronouncing the benediction. He was particularly pleased with Jay Narain's School, which had been placed under the charge of the missionaries of the Church Missionary Society.

At Allahabad he left his boats, and the fascinating river scenery which, for the last three months and more, had charmed and delighted him. His first experience of tent life was more pleasant than he expected to find it. "This was the first night," he wrote on September 30, "that I ever past under canvas, and, independent of its novelty, I found the comfort of my dwelling greatly exceeded my expectations. The breeze blew in very fresh and pleasantly through the tent door. The ground, covered with short withered grass, was perfectly dry, and my bed and mas-

was to take out of the Chinese territories. He was accompanied by Corrie and Mr. James Washington, an Englishman; but he journeyed without any European companions a good part of the way. "My life," he wrote, "has been that of a Tartar chief, rather than that of an English clergyman." Then, giving an account of his daily life while in camp, he added, "I rise by three in the morning, and am on horseback by four, for the sake of getting the march over, and our tents comfortably pitched before the heat of the day. I have then a few hours of myself till dinner-time at four, after which we generally stroll about, read prayers, and send every one to bed by eight o'clock, to be ready for the next day's march." On this march the Jesuits usually wore an easy and cool dress, using a white *sola*, but with a very broad brim, lined with green silk. There is, however, when most people show the irritability and roughness of their temper more than when they are travelling; but Bishop Heber's temper seems to have been sweet and placid even amidst the petty inconveniences of travel. Mr. Washington wrote in his private journal, "His remarks and administration of acquaintance are incompatible towards any human being; but the more I know of the bishop the more I esteem and adore him." In coming through a brook of water running across the road the Bishop's horse thought proper to lie down and stop him a while; with his usual kindness, instead of kicking, when he got up again, he only patted him, and said, "he was a nice fellow."

The Bishop was very considerate and kind to all his attendants. When about to leave Japan the Ambassador of his court died suddenly, and we gave the account of this event from the Bishop's journal, because none of our companions had seen his quarters, and therefore we did not know whether the Bishop had been there or not.

previous evening. "But in the morning," he says, "in the tent," and he tells me of the old subahdar who was unable to leave his tent. "I thought it best to go to his tent, and ask him how he was. To which he answered that he felt well. I told him, however, that he had better remain quiet, and that his tent and bed might perfectly well serve in the course of the day. I was walking away to finish my own dressing, when a man came running to say that the subahdar was dying." The doctor was summoned, and every effort made to prolong life, but in vain. "I felt it a comfort," the Bishop adds, "that I had not urged him to any exertion, and that I had endeavoured to persuade him to lie still till he was well. But I was necessarily much shocked by the sudden end of one who had travelled with me so far. I really felt a kindness for him, founded not only on his quiet, pleasing manners, but his attention to his duty and the confidence which I could always place on his word. Nor can I recollect without a pang his calm countenance and grey hairs, as he sat in his tent down on an afternoon, or walked with me through the villages on an evening with his own silver-hilted sabre under his arm, his loose cotton mantle folded round him, and his golden necklace and Rajpoot string just visible above it."

From Cawnpore the Bishop went to Lucknow, where he had an interview with the King of Oude, and at Delhi he was presented to the Emperor, to each of whom, remembering his own high and holy calling, he gave a copy of the Bible in Arabic and of the Prayer Book in Hindustani, which he had had specially bound for this purpose before leaving Calcutta. Although Bishop Heber did not interfere with the political concerns of the Indian Government, he was, as a traveller who had visited many countries and had seen many people, very observant of the condition of the province through which he was passing. He wrote a valuable letter to his friend the Governor-General giving his impressions regarding the state of the

independent state of Oudh, and the condition of the Company's territories. We give a brief extract from this letter in order to show the careful estimate he had formed of public affairs during his long tour. "Through the Company's territories," he wrote, "what have, perhaps, struck me most forcibly are the great moderation and general ability with which the civil functionaries apparently perform their arduous duties, and the uniform good order and obedience to the laws which are enforced through so vast a tract of country, amid a warlike, an armed, and, I do not think, a very well-affected population. The unfavourable circumstances appear to be the total want of honourable employment for the energies and ambition of the higher rank of Indians; and the extreme numerical insufficiency of the establishment allowed by the Company for the administration of justice, the collection of the revenue, and, I am almost tempted to say, the permanent security and internal defence of the Empire. I have frequently regretted the pressure of public business, which seems to render it unlikely that your Lordship will be enabled to undertake a similar tour through provinces of which it is almost as difficult to obtain an accurate idea in Calcutta as in London. It is not merely on account of the personal gratification which you would derive from such a journey, for I know that, let a Governor of India go where he will, it is probable that care will climb the *soonamooky* (the Governor-General's yacht) and sit behind the howdah. But there seems so great an advantage in producing occasionally to the people, in a visible shape, the power and person by whom they are held in subjection; so many valuable objects to be attained by an intercourse and acquaintance between the Chief Governor, his agents, and his subjects that I most fervently wish you a speedy triumph over the Birmans, if it were only for the chance that your Lordship may thus be enabled to inspect some of the most important and interesting parts of Northern India." Lord Amherst was able ere long to follow this salutary advice.

Bishop Heber left his friends, the Corries and Mr. Lushington, at Lucknow, and proceeded on his journey alone with much regret and in depression of spirits. He had not gone far before he was taken very ill with a sharp attack of influenza, and for one day he was so seriously unwell that his attendants fully expected that he would not recover. The remedies which he administered to himself were, by God's blessing, successful, and he was able to continue his journey with comfort and in ease. He wrote the following prayer and thanksgiving on his recovery.

"I thank thee, O Lord, that thou hast heard my prayer and helped me in the needful time of trouble; that thou hast delivered me from sharp sickness and great apparent danger, when I had no skill to heal myself, and when no human skill was near to save me. I thank thee for the many comforts with which thy mercy surrounds me; for the security of guards, the attendance and fidelity of servants, the advantage of medicine and natural means of cure, the unclouded use of my reason, and the holy and prevailing prayers which my absent friends offered up for me. But, above all, I thank thee for the knowledge of my own weakness, and of thy great goodness and power, humbly beseeching thee that my past sins may be forgiven and forsaken, and my future days may be employed in serving and pleasing thee, through thy dear Son Jesus Christ, our Saviour. *Amen.*"

He soon recovered his spirits and his health in the clear cold-weather air of Rohilkund. On arriving at Fureedpur ten days after his illness, he made this entry in his journal: "The morning was positively cold, and the whole scene, with the exercise of the march, the picturesque groups of men and animals round me,—the bracing air, the singing of birds, the light mist hanging on the trees, and the glistening of the dew, had something at once so oriental and so English, I have seldom found anything better adapted to raise a man's animal spirits, and put him in good temper with himself and all the world. How I wish those I love were with me," he adds with pardonable

regret, his thoughts turning to the one whom he loved best in the world. "How much my wife would enjoy this sort of life,—its exercise, its cleanliness, and purity; its constant occupation, and at the same time its comparative freedom from form, care, and vexation."

From Bareilly Bishop Heber paid a visit to Almora, and was delighted with the beauty and the sublimity of the Himalaya mountains. Much, however, as he enjoyed the lovely scenery, his object in going there was to advance the cause of his divine Master. He had the satisfaction of ministering to many Europeans, who, in that remote locality, had long been deprived of Christian ministrations; and his ardent spirit longed for an opportunity, even in the remote future, of sending the message of the Gospel into the regions of Central Asia on the northern slopes of the Himalayas. "My visit to Almora," he wrote, "has not, I hope, been useless, notwithstanding the delay it has occasioned. I have learned some facts which, if my life is spared, may open a door for sending missionaries and copies of the Scriptures into Tartary and even China." We quote another passage from his journal to show that mere beauty of the scenery would not tempt him to go even a mile out of his way. "The more I hear of these glorious hills," he says, "the more do I long to see them again. But my journeys never can or ought to be mere tours of pleasure; and the erection of a new church, the location of a new chaplain, and twenty other similar matters may compel me to a course extremely contrary to what I could desire if I were master of my own time."

From Almora the Bishop went to Meerut, where he was particularly pleased with the results of the labours of Mr. Fisher, both among the Europeans and the Indians. Here he spent Christmas. The church, which he consecrated, was the largest he had yet seen in India, and was capable of seating some three thousand people. From Meerut he proceeded to Delhi, where he had an interview with the titular Emperor Akbar Shah, and thence to Agra. Here he met the well-known Christian Abdul Massih,

whose portrait to this day adorns the committee room of the Church Missionary Society, and to whose history we intend hereafter to revert. Here also he made preparations for a journey through the independent states of Rajaputana, which, as he remarks, were actually represented as an unknown country in good English maps to so late as 1816. We need not linger over this part of his journey, which had some special attractions for him as being through a part of the country so different from the parts which he had hitherto visited. He had for some time been very anxious about the health of Mrs Heber and their children who had been very poorly, but now he heard that the former with the elder child was coming by sea to meet him at Bombay. The absence from these loved ones, and anxiety regarding their health, formed the sole drawback from what was otherwise a very pleasant, though laborious, tour. We give a few words from a letter to Mrs. Heber to show the way in which he bore this pressing trial "I often regret," he feelingly wrote, "that I left you Yet I trust that God will take care of you, and I know that it is he only on whose care all must depend, whether I am present or absent It is this only, and the feeling that I have the opportunity of doing him service where I am going, that prevents me from turning back to you. God only knows what is best for us; and, while we act for the best and trust in him, there can be no ground for self-reproach." This is the tone which every true Christian adopts, and the way in which he acts.

Bishop Heber arrived at Bombay early on the morning of April 20, 1825. Six days later he was joined by Mrs. Heber with their elder little girl. They spent four pleasant months in Bombay and Poona. Archdeacon Barnes had gone to meet him a stage beyond Baroda, and was a great help to him in understanding affairs in the Bombay Presidency. Both in Bombay and in Poona he was busily occupied in ecclesiastical matters; and, in the interval between times of business, he was delighted with visits to the caves of Elephanta, or Gharapuri, and Salsette. The

greatest pleasure, however, connected with his visit to Bombay was his intercourse with the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone, who was then the Governor, and whose name is still remembered there by the Indians as the ablest ruler they have ever had. His opinion of this great Indian administrator is thus expressed: Mr. Elphinstone is, in every respect, an extraordinary man, possessing great activity of body and mind, remarkable talent for, and application to, public business, a love of literature, and a degree of almost universal information such as I have met with in no other person similarly situated, and manners and conversation of the most amiable and interesting character. His policy, so far as India is concerned, appeared to me peculiarly wise and liberal, and he is evidently attached to, and thinks well of, the country and its inhabitants. His public measures evince a steady wish to improve their present condition. No Government in India pays so much attention to schools and public institutions for education. In none are the taxes lighter, and in the administration of justice to the natives in their own languages, in the degree in which he employs them in official situations, and the countenance and familiarity which he extends to all the natives of rank who approach him, he seems to have reduced to practice almost all the reforms which had struck me as most required in the system of Government pursued in those provinces of our Eastern Empire which I had previously visited." On the other hand, Mr. Elphinstone was charmed with his guest, and there was thus between them a pleasant degree of mutual admiration. He entered in his journal the following record: "The Bishop is here in very general admiration, simple, kind, lively, liberal, learned, and ingenious. It is seldom one sees a character so perfectly amiable."

The Governor and the Bishop parted on August 15th, 1825. The latter, accompanied by Mrs. Heber and their child, and the Rev. Thomas Robinson, afterwards Archdeacon of Madras, embarked on board the Company's cruiser *Discovery*, which had been placed by the Govern-

ment at their disposal. They coasted along the shores of Malabar and Ceylon, and landing at Point de Galle, they proceeded to Colombo, where they were met by the Governor, Sir Edward Barnes. He there had a meeting of all the clergy who were near enough to journey thither, and he delivered a charge, or an address of counsel and advice, to them. Mr. Robinson wrote: "The whole services of the day have been full of interest and delight. I have never seen so many together, so united in heart and object, since I left England. It is impossible to tell you with what feelings of affection and obedience the Bishop is regarded by all." Thence the party went to Kandy, where the services were held in the audience-hall of the late king. "After we returned home," Mr. Robinson wrote, "before breakfast, I was mentioning to him how forcibly it had struck me, during the service, that in that hall, where a few years ago the most savage tyrant received his miserable subjects, a Christian Bishop was now administering the solemn ordinances of our religion. He leaned his head on his hand and burst into tears." Returning to Galle, they again embarked on board the *Discovery* and after a tedious voyage up the Bay of Bengal, reached Calcutta on October 21, after an absence of sixteen months spent in long journeys by river, land, and sea.

Bishop Heber remained in Calcutta only three months, during which he was busily employed in correspondence with his clergy and with ecclesiastical affairs. The most important event during this period was the ordination of three European Missionaries and of Abdul Massih, the well-known convert of Henry Martyn and Archdeacon Corrie. The Bishop, as already stated, had met this venerable Indian Christian at Agra, and was much pleased with all he saw of him. This is the appropriate place to give the Bishop's estimate of his character when they met on that memorable occasion. "He is a very fine old man," he wrote on January 12, 1825, "with a magnificent grey beard, and much more gentlemanly manners than any

Christian native whom I have seen. His rank, indeed, previous to his conversion, was rather elevated, since he was master of the jewels to the Court of Oudh. His present appointments, as Christian Missionary, are Rs. 60 a month, and of this he gives away at least half. Who can dare to say that this man has changed his faith from any interested motives? He is every way fit to be ordained, and is a most sincere Christian, quite free, as far as I could observe, from all conceit and enthusiasm. His long Eastern dress, his long grey beard, and his calm resigned countenance, give him already almost the air of an apostle." The ordination took place on December 21, 1825, and was a season of peculiar solemnity and thrilling interest. Abdul Massih had been ill for some days, and was so much overpowered by the service that he nearly fainted at the time of the act of ordination. The Bishop himself went through the Hindustani part of the service without difficulty. "It was an awful and touching moment," wrote Mr. Robinson who was present, "when the hymn beginning, 'Come, Holy Spirit,' was sung by the congregation, the Bishop reading the verses from the Lord's table, surrounded by twenty of his clergy kneeling. All seemed to feel the beautiful devotion of this heavenly hymn, and to join with one heart in the sublime invocation of the ever blessed Spirit. Who can doubt that such prayers were answered?" Bishop Heber had already in his brief episcopate had the pleasure of ordaining to the Christian ministry two Indians of entirely diverse origin and training—namely, the Tamil Catechist, Christian David and the venerable and learned convert from Islam, Abdul Massih. Since that time many have been ornaments of the Christian ministry, both in the Church of England and in other bodies of Christians.

Though the Bishop had made one very long tour, he had not yet visited the Madras Presidency and Travancore. He set out, therefore, for this portion of his diocese at the end of January, leaving Calcutta on the 30th of that month, and embarking on board the *Bussorah Merchant* for

Madras on February 2, 1826. During the short voyage he had a little, and very welcome, leisure for reading, which he was quite ready to put on one side at the call of charity and duty. Learning that there was on board a detachment of invalid soldiers returning to England, he frequently went below to read and pray with them. Some were deeply affected by this, and said to his chaplain, "only think of such a great man as the Bishop coming between decks to pray with such poor fellows as we are!" One of the passengers, a lady who had left her husband at Calcutta, and was going to England with a sickly infant two months old, lost the child, and the Bishop was unremitting in his efforts to comfort her.

The vessel did not reach Madras till February 25. His labours there were excessive and exhausting, and Mr. Robinson, his chaplain, was even then afraid that they would be too much for his strength. The only episode in this busy time which it will be necessary to relate is his interview with Lady Munro and the Governor, Sir Thomas Munro, who was so much beloved by the people of the Presidency of Madras. The Bishop came to present a vote of thanks to the former for the help she had given to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and the description of this interview given by Mr Robinson presents such a pleasing picture of the scene that it had better be narrated in his own words. "The beauty and gracefulness of Lady Munro," he wrote, "the grave and commanding figure of the Governor, the youthful appearance and simple dignity of the dear Bishop, the beloved of all beholders, presented a scene such as few can ever hope to witness. Sir Thomas listened with deep interest to every word that the Bishop addressed to her, and then said, while he pressed his hand and the tears were rolling down his venerable cheeks, 'My Lord, it will be in vain for me after this to preach humility to Lady Munro; she will be proud of this day to the latest hour she lives.' 'God bless you, Sir Thomas,' was the only answer the feelings of the Bishop allowed him to make; 'and God

bless you, my Lord,' was the earnest and affectionate reply."

The Bishop's party left Madras on the afternoon of March 13, and they went, sometimes by palanquin, and sometimes marching, by Sadras and Pondicherry, and Cuddalore to Tanjore and Trichinopoly. At Tanjore he was particularly struck with the venerable Mr. Kohlhoff, who had been the pupil of Schwartz, and who had nearly completed fifty years of labour among the Christians of South India. The Bishop entered with zest into the Christian services at Tanjore, and he learned to pronounce in Tamil the blessing with which the services end, which the Indian Christians felt was a delicate compliment paid to them, and with which they were pleased and gratified. On Easter Day, March 26, he preached an affecting sermon, and many of the Indian Christians who understood English attended. They afterwards begged that they might have a copy of it, and he promised to make it simpler in style and to have it translated into Tamil. At the Communion there were more than fifty present, and to each of them he pronounced the words of administration in Tamil. In the evening the Bishop was present, at the Tamil service in the same church, when it was crowded by some 1,300 Indian Christians, and the effect of the hearty responses and Amens was electric. The Bishop's heart was full of saintly joy, and Mr. Robinson said that he never could forget the energy of his manner and the heavenly expression of his countenance as he exclaimed at the close of the day, "Gladly would I exchange years of common life for one such day as this."

On the evening of the following day, the Bishop attended the Tamil service in Schwartz's chapel in the Mission compound, and, after the sermon, he himself gave the missionaries and their people an unstudied address of mingled counsel and encouragement, which, coming fresh and warm from his heart, stirred by the fact of his standing over Schwartz's grave, deeply affected all who heard it. Before leaving Tanjore, he paid a visit of ceremony to the

Raja, who had been a pupil of Schwartz and who expressed the hope that the Bishop would be like him, and stand in his room. The Bishop thanked him for his kindness to his poor Christian subjects. He replied that it was but his duty. The Bishop said after this interview, "I have seen many crowned heads, but not one whose deportment was more princely." Hearing that no petition for this beneficent sovereign was then offered in the public services, he wrote the following prayer for translation into Tamil and for use in the churches in the kingdom of Tanjore, so as to carry out the Christian custom of praying for all in authority. "O Lord God Almighty, giver of all good things, we beseech Thee to receive into Thy bountiful protection thy servant his Highness the Maharaja Sarabojee, his family and descendants. Remember him, for good, for the kindness which he hath shown to thy church. Grant him in health and wealth long to live; preserve him from all evil and danger; grant that his son and his son's son may inherit honour, peace, and happiness; and grant, above all, both to him and to them that peace which this world cannot give—a knowledge of thy truth here, and everlasting happiness hereafter, through thy Son Jesus Christ, our Saviour. Amen."

The Bishop left Tanjore deeply interested in the missions there, and with a lingering regret. His testimony as to the mission work was very clear and emphatic. "He more than once observed to me," wrote his faithful friend and companion, "that, instead of the usual danger of exaggerated reports and the expression of too sanguine hopes, the fault here was that enough had not been said, and repeats the conviction that the strength of the Christian cause in India is in these Missions, and that it will be a grievous and heavy sin, if England and the agents of its bounty do not nourish and protect the churches here founded. He has seen the other parts of India and Ceylon, and he has rejoiced in the prospects opened of the extension of Christ's kingdom in many distant places and by different instruments; but he has seen nothing like the

Missions of the south, for these are the fields most ripe for the harvest." Just as the carriage in which the first stage of the journey was to be done was at the door, the Bishop begged to be excused as he must bid good-bye to his friend Dr. Hyne, who had been the medical man in attendance on him since he left Madras, and who was very ill; and a few minutes after Mr. Robinson, passing by, saw him at the doctor's bed-side engaged in prayer. "You will not wonder," added Mr. Robinson, "that I should love this man, seeing him as I see him, fervent in secret and individual devotion, and at one hour the centre of many labours, the apostle of many nations, at another snatching the last moment to kneel by the bed of a sick and dying friend."

Between seven and eight in the morning of April, the Bishop's party arrived at Trichinopoly, where they were hospitably received by Mr. Bird, one of the Provincial Judges. The weather was intensely hot, and all felt it very much, but the Bishop himself was indefatigable in his exertions. This large station was well supplied by its excellent Chaplain; but the Mission was in a very poor and deserted state, which was a source of much anxiety to Bishop Heber. On Sunday, the 2nd, he preached to a crowded congregation. Mr. Robinson was so poorly that he was quite laid on one side, and the Bishop sat with him the greater part of the afternoon. They conversed on various subjects; but that which chiefly occupied their attention was the blessedness of Heaven, and the best means of preparing for its enjoyment. He repeated several lines of a hymn which he admired as one of the most beautiful in the English language for rich devotional feeling. It is the one beginning, "Head of the Church triumphant," which appears in most collections of hymns. In the evening he held a confirmation for Europeans, and gave the young people an earnest address exhorting them to watchfulness and prayer.

The confirmation for the Tamil congregation took place early on Monday morning, April 3, when eleven young

persons were thus admitted to the full privileges of Christians. The service was ended by the Bishop's pronouncing the blessing in Tamil. The venerable missionary Kohlhoff bore witness to its being spoken correctly and distinctly. After this service he inspected the church, the schools, and Mission house. A great part of the Tamil congregation being still present, he addressed them from the steps leading to the house, exhorting them to be Christians not in name only but in reality, and to shine as lights before the heathen among whom they were living. He promised soon to send them a missionary, and prayed God to pour down his blessing upon them. Immediately on his return he went to Mr Robinson's room, and stood talking by his bed-side for half an hour with more than his usual animation, the subject being the condition of the Mission. He then left to take a bath and prepare for breakfast. He sat a few minutes apparently absorbed in thought, and went to the bath-room, which was a separate building a few yards from the house, and the bath contained some seven feet of water, and was supplied with clear, cold water refined by the process of distillation. As he was longer than usual, his servant Mr. Ma... alarmed and opened the door, when he saw the exertions of the Bishop below the surface of the water. He rushed once to Mr. Robinson's room, who plunged into it at once, and took it out, and a young chaplain and he carried him to the nearest room. Every possible remedy for his exhausted animation was applied in vain. The saintly spirit had fled, and had returned to the Lord who had given it. To him to live had been Christ, and to die was gain.

Thus swiftly and suddenly the message had come to Reginald Heber, and we fully believe that few men had been more ready to receive it. Early called to serve the Lord, he began to work for him early. From early manhood he devoted himself to the sacred work of the ministry, and, while not neglecting society and literature, he was first and foremost the Christian minister. Though he had evidently been marked out for higher service in England,

REGINALD HEBER,

he gave up all at what he considered the call of duty, and came to India to supervise and govern the English Church in this country; but, above every thing, he considered himself a Christian missionary, and his last thoughts and last words were on behalf of the Indian Christians. The latest words he uttered in public were an earnest exhortation that they should be real and true, and should shine as clear lights in the midst of surrounding darkness.

Bishop Heber's character was peculiarly sweet and amiable. His temper seems to have scarcely ever been ruffled. The irritation and petty annoyances which so frequently accompany life in a strange land, do not appear to have had any perceptible effect upon him. He was eminently a peace-maker, and he was enabled by his Christian tact to exercise the art of conciliation to a wonderful degree; and it was pleasing to observe that the humbler members of society were influenced by him as well as those in higher position like Lord Amherst, Mr Mountstuart Elphinstone, and Sir Thomas Munro. Like all who inherit the fallen nature of man, he had faults and failings; but they were softened and ^{mission} by Christian grace, and genuine affection for his ^{divi} ^{Missio} ^{ster}. We can scarcely call it an infirmity that he ^{a soul} ^{the} ^{harder} ^{than} ^{was} ^{prudent} in such a trying climate as the ^{India}, and his death was brought on by a sudden ^{and} ^{to} ^{an} ^{over-wrought} ^{brain}.

Though he had been only a ^{short} time in the country, he had rapidly acquired a liking for its people. His journal abounds with instances of his tender sympathy for them and of kindness to them. Of the Hindus in Northern India, of whom he said most, he wrote: "They are men of high and gallant courage, courteous, intelligent, and most eager after knowledge and improvement. They are sober, industrious, dutiful to their parents, and affectionate to their children, of tempers uniformly patient and gentle, and more easily affected by kindness and attention to their wants and feelings than almost any men whom I have met

with. If it should please God to make any considerable portion of the Christians, they would, I can well believe, put the best of European Christians to shame." The chief desire of his heart was to be used as an instrument in the Lord's hands for the conversion of many in India; and we feel persuaded that the greater advance towards Christianity made in more recent years, and the inclining of more hearts towards the Lord Jesus Christ, are in a great measure due to the exertions and the prayers of Reginald Heber.



SIR ROBERT EDWARDS.

SIR HERBERT EDWARDS,

A CHRISTIAN HERO.

BY

HENRY MORRIS,

(MADRAS C.S., Retired.)

Author of "Anglo-Indian Worthies,"

"The Governors-General of India," &c.

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was of a roving disposition, and much inclined to reading and study. As this, however, was contrary to the wishes of his guardians, he made an application to Sir Richard Jenkins, one of the Directors of the East India Company, who gave him a cadetship in the Bengal army, and he left England for Calcutta in October, 1840, at the age of one-and-twenty, rather earlier than men usually entered the Indian Army in those days.

Ensign Edwards reached Calcutta in January, 1841, and was posted to the 1st Bengal Fusiliers, which was then stationed at Kinnaird. He proceeded busily on duty, and at length joined his regiment, being anxious to qualify himself for study, and to enter the political department, he vigorously studied Persian, Hindustani, and Hindi, in all which languages he passed a examination, and subsequently obtained an Interpretation. His regiment was afterwards sent to Sebalpur, a pleasant hill station, not far from the Ganges. There he studied not only the acquisition of the languages, but directed his attention particularly to the study of Indian history, the study of Indian politics, and the language which he chiefly gave his course in was that of the *Dehli Duran*, under the signature of "the Liberator of India." These lectures attracted considerable attention, and being in demand, were attended by a variety of states and officers and were a source of enjoyment to the British and Indian alike. Afterwards, Mr. Edwards, having been much struck by the ability of the officers, which led to an acquaintance with Mr. Roberts, and to his obtaining employment for him under himself. This was followed by a long and cordial friendship between two kindred spirits, the younger ever looking to the older with reverential affection, calling him "the father of his political life."

Sebalpur being on the frontier of Sindia, Mr. Edwards often visited the latter district, and there, he was introduced to Sir Hugh Gough, then Commander-in-Chief of the Indian army, and was appointed in 1845 an aid-de-camp on his personal staff. In this capacity Mr. Edwards

served through the first Sikh war, and was present at the battles of Mudki and Sohraon. At the former battle, while carrying an order of the Commander-in-chief, he was severely wounded in the thigh. The final victory placed the whole of the Panjáb in the possession of the English army, and Sir Henry Hardinge, the Governor-General, being unwilling to annex it to the English dominions, placed the whole state, with the exception of one district which he retained under the government of a council of Sikh nobles, with Dhuleep Singh as their Maharajah, assisted by an English protectorate. Colonel Henry Lawrence was appointed Resident at Lahore with unlimited authority in all matters of internal administration.

An entirely new life was now opening for Mr. Edwardes. Passing through Simla on his way to Lahore, Colonel Lawrence invited him to be one of his assistants, and the Commander-in-chief's permission having been willingly accorded, he proceeded to the capital. It was no slight honour to be selected as one of the personal assistants of Henry Lawrence. Himself a man of integrity and enthusiasm, he was not only admired, but loved, by those with whom he associated. His grand aim at this juncture was to influence the Sikh nobility for good, and to win them over to his own high ideal of the art of governing. He wanted to avoid what was afterwards proved to be inevitable—the withdrawal of power from them. All his assistants were picked men, animated by the same high aims and noble enthusiasm. At first they lived together, more like a happy family party; but, one by one, they were dispersed throughout the Panjáb in separate charges. In those early days Mr. Edwardes was the first assistant to the Resident, and acted as his private secretary. For several months they lived in the same house and even slept in the same room. This close intimacy led them to know each other well; and a few words in a private letter show the estimation in which Colonel Lawrence held his young companion. "Edwardes has left me," he wrote. "We have now been five months together in close fellowship, the last three months even sleeping in the same room. Taking him all in all, bodily

activity, mental cultivation, and warmth of heart, I have not met his equal in India."

In August 1846 there were difficulties in Kashmir. A petty sirdar had rebelled against the authority of Goláb Singh, who had been made Maharájah of that country, and Colonel Lawrence deputed Mr. Edwardes to proceed to Jamu to assist the Maharájah, and to endeavour to put down the rebellion. He was successful in his mission. The rebel chief surrendered, and was brought to Lahore. During the absence of Colonel Lawrence at Kashmir with the object of establishing Goláb Singh in his new possessions, Mr. Edwardes was left in charge at Lahore, and distinguished himself by his tact in appeasing a religious tumult in that city.

Those early days of political training soon past away. Friends were soon to be scattered all over the Panjáb. One of the party, looking back to that time, exclaimed in very familiar language, "What days those were! How Henry Lawrence would send us off to great distances; Edwardes to Bannu, Nicholson to Peshawar, Abbott to Hazara, giving us a tract of country as big as half of England, and giving us no more instructions than these, 'Settle the country; make the people happy; and take care there are no rows!'" Bannu was an Afghan valley on the right bank of the Indus. It was inhabited by a turbulent and intractable people. The revenue was in arrears. Even the old Lion of the Panjáb, Ranjit Singh, had been unable to exact obedience, and what was still more necessary to him was tribute. To Mr. Edwardes was entrusted in February 1847, the formidable task of dealing with the inhabitants of this fair, but inhospitable, valley. His plan was to enlist the prejudices of the Muhammadans against those of the Sikhs. With the small force that was allotted to him, he persuaded the people to dismantle the four hundred petty forts which dotted the valley, erected one strong fortress, and made a road through the country. Then he set himself to work to administer justice and to collect the revenue. Boundary disputes had to be mastered and settled. A chief who had tyrannized over the people was

deposed. Three exiled chiefs were restored. The people, seeing that their new ruler was in earnest for their welfare, rallied round him, and he was enabled truthfully to say that the valley of Bannu, which had for twenty-five years defied the Sikh arms, had in three months been subjugated without a shot having been fired. When afterwards he wrote an account of that time in his book, *A Year on the Panjáb Frontier*, he said that his object was to put on record a victory which he remembered with more satisfaction than he helped to gain before Multan—the bloodless conquest of the wild valley of Bannu.

One day—it was April 22, 1848, Mr. Edwardes was sitting in his tent at Dera Fateh Khan on the Indus, surrounded by Beluchi zamindars, trying a case, when the trial was interrupted by the sound of hurried steps, and a messenger hastily entered, bearing a letter-bag crimsoned with blood. It was directed to General Cortlandt at Bannu, but, seeing that something urgent had happened, he opened the packet and read the despatch. Having read it, he quickly went on with his work, thinking what he should do, but determined to show how calmly an Englishman can act in a case of emergency. The bag contained a letter scrawled in pencil by Mr. Vans Agnew, who, with Lieutenant Anderson, had been attacked, and though Mr. Edwardes did not then know it, murdered at Multan by order of the Dewan Mulráj. The trial over, he set resolutely to work to give what help he could. He collected levies. He gave warning to General Cortlandt to come to his assistance. He stirred up the loyal Nawab of Bhawalpore. By sheer doggedness and persistence he won two hard-fought battles over the troops of Mulráj, one at Kinyéri on June 18, and the other at Saddusám on July 1. He kept Mulráj cooped up in his fortress at Multan; and, as he himself expressed it, he kept him at bay, like a terrier barking at a tiger. Though only a lieutenant in the army, he thus did good service to the cause of England, for Mulráj's rebellion was merely the prelude to a revolt of the whole Sikh nation.

The provincial rebellion became a national uprising. A large British army took the field later on. The fortress of

Multan was eventually taken on January 22, 1849; and Lieutenant Edwardes served with the besieging army, and negotiations with Mulraj were carried on through him when the latter was compelled to surrender. Two severe battles concluded the second Sikh war, which was followed by the annexation of the Panjáb and its government by British officers. The Sikh people and soldiery from courageous foes became staunch friends and loyal subjects of England. Mr. Edwardes was anxious, when the strain of war was over, to return to England; but, at the request of his friend Sir Henry Lawrence, now returned to Lahore to take part in the government of the country, he remained a few months for the purpose of completing the official business connected with Bannu and Multan. The strain, however, was too much for him, and he was so prostrated by an attack of fever that he was obliged to go. He reached England on January 27, 1850. He was welcomed with enthusiasm. Englishmen appreciated his promptitude and courage. He received the thanks of Parliament. The Court of Directors struck a medal specially in his honour, and presented it to him. But, perhaps, the honour which he himself most valued was the approval of the greatest authority in the art of warfare at the beginning of the present century, the Duke of Wellington, who gave him a private interview and expressed to him his personal approbation.

Major Edwardes had a tenderer and more personal object in desiring at this time to return to England. He had for several years cherished a strong attachment to Miss Emma Sidney, the daughter of a gentleman residing at Richmond. They were married on July 9, 1850, and, during the remainder of his life, this happy pair formed another instance of the sweetness and purity of domestic life in India founded on mutual attachment and love. While at home on furlough Major Edwardes wrote a book giving a spirited account of his work in Bannu and his campaign against Mulraj, called, *A Year on the Panjab Frontier*, which was written in the valley of Festiniog, North Wales, one of the most beautiful spots in the United Kingdom, and a striking

contrast in retirement and peacefulness to the lovely Afghan valley where the scenes recorded in the volume were enacted.

In the following year Major Edwardes returned to India accompanied by his wife, and the second scene of his experience in civil administration commenced. He found himself appointed Deputy Commissioner of Jullundur, the Commissioner under whom he was to serve being Mr., afterwards Sir Donald, McLeod, for whom he entertained the purest admiration and affection. The district of Jullundur was situated in the south-east of the Panjáb, and was a fertile territory nestling at the base of the giant Himalayas. He heartily entered into his work, constantly moving about the district in tents, and, when he was leaving after fifteen months' residence, he was able to write "there is not a corner of it which I do not know, not a road which I have not travelled, not a cluster of villages which I have not visited, not an official of whom I have not taken the measure. The good and evil of it all is in my heart, and having swept and garnished it with great labour, I was just beginning to furnish it with improvements." Mr. McLeod was a man who was known to say what he really meant, and his words on Major Edwardes' leaving the district were of very strong praise. "I regard Edwardes," he wrote to the Chief Commissioner, "as a loss altogether irreparable—regarding him as the very best and most unexceptionable officer I have as yet been brought in contact with. It is not his ability that I admire so much as his weight of character and high tone and principles altogether. There is not a corner of the district where his impress has not been already felt, and always in the most salutary manner."

In April, 1853, Lord Dalhousie, the Governor-General, ordered Major Edwardes to Hazára, a wilder district and one where a strong hand was just then required. It was a hill country, with beautiful scenery, but a difficult people, on the frontier of Kashmir. He was there only six months, and was then, according to the usual vicissitude of Indian life, ordered to a more important and ten times more arduous post—the valley of Peshawar. This

appointment was promotion to him. He was now a Commissioner. The wild tribes in the neighbouring mountains, as well as the inhabitants of the Peshawar valley thoroughly trusted and also feared the new Commissioner. He understood them, and they understood and obeyed him. The supreme importance of the post was fully appreciated by Lord Dalhousie, who, on informing him of his appointment, wrote, "Holding it, you hold the outpost of the Indian empire."

The principal service which, in his early days there, Colonel Edwardes performed at Peshawar, was the negotiation of a treaty with Dost Muhammad Khan, the Amir of Kabul. Nothing struck him more forcibly, on his having thoroughly mastered his work and the English position in that Afghan valley, than the strained relations between Dost Muhammad and the Government of India. The fact is neither had forgotten the unhappy Afghan War. The sting of it still remained. Colonel Edwardes was anxious to do his best to relieve the strain and to extract the sting. With the full permission and approval of the Governor-General, he entered into friendly relations with the Amir, and induced him to enter into a treaty with the Government, in order, as he himself expressed it that, according to an old English proverb, "by-gones should be by-gones." Dost Muhammad so heartily entered into the spirit of the idea that he despatched his eldest son Ghulam Haidar Khan to represent him at Peshawar, and Mr. John Lawrence, Chief Commissioner of the Panjáb, as the highest authority in that Province, went to meet the heir apparent, and, with Colonel Edwardes, signed the treaty on March 30, 1855. Nearly two years afterwards, a similar treaty was signed by Dost Muhammad himself, who visited Peshawar for the purpose in January, 1857. He faithfully kept the treaty, and the benefit of it was felt, almost immediately, for he remained true as steel during the great stress of the Sepoy Mutiny. The Afghans, though eager to pour down on the Panjáb through the Khyber Pass, were kept back by his strong will. It was like closing the door to India and placing one's back against it, with a trusty friend behind.

Early in 1857, Mrs. Edwardes was obliged to return to England owing to ill-health, and her husband obtained leave to accompany her to Calcutta to see her off. She left on March 23, 1857. He bitterly felt parting with her, and fretted under the unusual quiet of his home. We just quote one passage from a letter to her on his return to Peshawar; just to show the affectionateness of his character and as an example of how truly marriages contracted by mutual love ennoble a man. "In this great desolate house," he wrote, "your books lie about where you last laid them, and our mutual words seem hanging entranced in the air, and coming back on me like echoes. It is both sad and sweet. It is like the thorn that they say the nightingale leans on." He returned from Calcutta rather slowly, visiting old friends on the way, among others his friend and father, Sir Henry Lawrence, at Lucknow. He had scarcely got back to Peshawar before the Mutiny began, and then he was only too glad that Mrs. Edwardes was absent, and safely out of the way of peril and alarm. "At this sad time," he wrote to her, "how thankful I am that you are in harbour. . . It has made my heart so light amid these cares, and enabled me to think more for others."

Amidst the first flush of excitement occasioned by the Mutiny, Colonel Edwardes maintained the purest calm. His dear friend, Colonel John Nicholson, the Deputy Commissioner, was living with him. As they then held the frontier post of India, all eyes were turned on them. Civil and military authorities moved hand in hand, and worked harmoniously together. The native regiments were disarmed. The wild tribes in the Déráját hastened to their standard. Levies of rough, but trusty, allies were made. The whole Panjáb remained tranquil, and efficient help was given by it to the army battling for very life around Delhi. Sir John Lawrence and his able lieutenants upheld the honour of the English name throughout the Province, and no one had a more difficult and delicate post or did more excellent service than Colonel Edwardes. There was, at one time, a talk of giving up Peshawar to Dost Muhammad Khan. The Chief Commissioner inclined

to it. Colonel Edwardes thoroughly opposed it. At length the brief message from the Governor-General was flashed to Lahore, by Madras and Bombay, "Hold on to Peshawar to the last." Peshawar has ever since been kept as the strong frontier city of the Indian Empire.

When the exciting events of the past few months were settling down, Colonel Edwardes, as so many others did, felt the re-action. The strain had been too much for him, and his health gave away. He could not obtain leave of absence just then, however; and there was abundance of work to occupy him, and also to increase the ill-health from which he was suffering. Among other duties, he was summoned by the Chief Commissioner to assist him, and General Neville Chamberlain with his counsel in plans for the re-organization of the native army intended for the consideration of the Government. While these were in progress, he was for the time at the hill-station of Murroe. When this duty was completed, he returned Peshawar; but it was weary waiting, for his own health and anxiety for the health of his absent wife imperatively demanded a change of climate. At length leave was granted and he left for England by the steamer from Bombay on May 23, 1859. He had been at Peshawar six years, and the last two had been the most trying and harassing in all his Indian experience. He was able to place on record that he had never known so little crime or so much good will on the frontier as during the first four years of his charge; and now, on closing his services on the frontier and on making a final retrospect of his time there, he is able to write:—"I feel how much we owe to God for His goodness to us here. How good a work has been accomplished in blotting out the animosities of the Cabul war, and how richly was the peace-making policy repaid in the crisis of 1857! What a happy opportunity has thus been afforded of getting jageers and rewards for all the faithful chiefs of the border. These are wholesome results of labour, which by God's favour I can now look back to; and I should suppose that these five and a half years have been the most useful of my life, as they ought indeed to be."

Soon after his return to England his services were rewarded by his Queen by the bestowal of knighthood, and we are thus enabled to call him henceforward Sir Herbert Edwardes. His health demanded complete rest; but this he was unable to obtain, and refused to seek. At the request of the family of Sir Henry Lawrence, he undertook the labour of writing the life of that noble man, and the materials were so abundant that it took much time and pains even to arrange them. He was also busily engaged in addressing various meetings on Indian subjects and especially on the favourite topic which then engaged his mind—the duty of a fearless Christian policy in the Government of India. A trip to Germany and Switzerland failed to restore his health, and an injudicious application of certain medicinal waters did him much harm, and, in fact, brought on a serious illness, from which he was a long time recruiting, and from which, perhaps, he never entirely recovered. Though relaxation and rest were so absolutely essential, he felt that the real scene of work for him was the Panjáb and not England, and, therefore, when he received the offer of an appointment in one of the most healthy parts of the Panjáb, he considered it right to accept it, and to return once more to the land he knew and loved so well.

The appointment was that of Commissioner of Umballa and Governor-General's Agent for the Cis-Sutlej states. Sir Herbert and Lady Edwardes left England in January, 1862; and, after a pleasant stay at Calcutta with old friends, they reached Umballa on March 8. This district was certainly most pleasant and beautiful. There was an abundance of useful work to be done, and there was in it a delightful place for residence during the hot weather on one of the lower spots of the Himalayas. Notwithstanding these advantages, Sir Herbert missed the freer and more unrestrained life among the frontier tribes, to which he had been accustomed, and the greater liberty of former non-regulation days and habits. The principal public event of his sojourn thereof three years was the trial of the Wahábi conspirators and the unravelling of the plot which they

had for sometime been secretly weaving against the peace and security of British India.

During his stay in the district of Umballa, the sudden death of Lord Elgin, with whom he had the advantage of several interviews, occurred, and his old and intimate friend, Sir John Lawrence, was appointed to the splendid, but most trying, position of Viceroy. Towards the close of the hot weather, Sir Herbert and Lady Edwardes were staying with the Viceroy at Simla, when a very tragic event occurred in the accidental death, by a fall down a precipice, of Sir Alexander Lawrence, Sir Henry Lawrence's eldest son, the shock of which accelerated and increased an attack of fever that prostrated Lady Edwardes. For several weeks she hovered between life and death, and her recovery seems, under God, to have been due to the tender and careful nursing, and unremitting attention, of her husband. On her recovery it was decided that, not only for her sake, but for his, they should return to their native land. On the first day of the New Year 1865, they quitted Kussowli for England. It was hoped at one time that Sir Herbert Edwardes might eventually succeed to the only high appointment which, as he said, he cared for, that of Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjáb; and there has been placed on record in his biography a peculiarly generous and manly letter to Sir John Lawrence, in which, on an occasion when it was about to become vacant, he pleaded that, if any idea of offering it to him were entertained, it might be given to Mr., afterwards Sir Donald, McLeod, a man for whom he had the deepest affection as well as the highest admiration. It was given to Mr. McLeod, and afterwards, when there was a prospect of the post being again vacant owing to that esteemed statesman's illness, it was offered to him; but he was in too delicate a state of health to accept it.

Sir Herbert and Lady Edwardes travelled to England slowly, remaining on their way at several places on the Continent of Europe, so that they did not reach England till the month of May. They lived at first at Eastbourne on the south coast of England, where he occupied himself

diligently in writing the Life of Sir Henry Lawrence, which, as previously stated, had been entrusted to his charge, and which he had been obliged, much to his regret, to lay aside owing to the engrossing nature of his official duties in India. It may here be mentioned that he proceeded with the greater part of this labour of love, but his early death prevented him from finishing it, and it was completed by another hand. This was much to be deplored, as the account of that distinguished man's life suffered by its not being presented to the world in its entirety by one person, he being the one who most resembled Sir Henry in his thoughts, experience, and tastes.

Sir Herbert and his wife had not been very long in England, when new and unwonted duties occupied their time and attention. When Lady Lawrence returned to India soon after her husband had been appointed Viceroy, she entrusted her children to the care of one of his sisters. This sister having unexpectedly died, Sir Herbert and Lady Edwardes were requested to undertake this responsible charge in order to obviate the necessity for Lady Lawrence's immediate return to England. They kindly responded to the call, and, leaving Eastbourne, they removed to Southgate, where they took care of the six children of Sir John Lawrence, who expressed his immense satisfaction at this arrangement. This arduous care was not of long duration, however, for before the first year had expired, his health had so much declined that his medical attendant insisted on his going to a milder climate for a season. He removed to the Isle of Wight. In the following March he suffered from a severe attack of pleurisy, and, although he rallied for a few months, he never recovered strength. He was strong enough, however, to go for a change to Scotland, where he thoroughly enjoyed the quiet and relaxation, and the exquisite scenery of that beautiful land.

On Sir Herbert Edwardes' return to London in November, he was still very weak, but even the physicians who attended him did not apprehend any immediate danger. Notwithstanding this great prostration, however, the end seemed to come suddenly to those who were anxiously and

tenderly watching and nursing him. On December 23, severe hæmorrhage occurred, and in a few hours he gently sank to his rest. No surprise was expressed, when told that he was leaving earth and her whom he had loved best upon it. He had so long served and followed his Lord and Saviour that his heart was full only of Him. His last recorded words were:—"I am quite happy. I love God. I trust entirely to Jesus. I put full confidence in Him, and I could not do more if I lived a thousand years."

There is no need to say that Sir Herbert Edwardes was a decided and consistent Christian. His whole life declared this. He was thoroughly open and outspoken in his convictions. His personal religion was quite free from all conventualism and cant. He had not enjoyed the inestimable advantage and happiness of being brought up in the midst of a decidedly religious family; but he had, early in his public career, been brought into contact with Sir Henry Lawrence and other likeminded men, from whom he imbibed the principles which, by the grace of God, became a part of his character, purifying and strengthening it. During the period when he dwelt much in tents and was cut off from intercourse with European society, he saw much of Moslems and of Sikhs, he had much time for quiet thought, and he was struck by the vast superiority of Christianity over other religious beliefs; but this did not prevent him from regarding those who held them with the tenderest charity and consideration.

He was one who earnestly desired to see a Christian Government always act in a Christian way. The clear clarion tones of a decidedly Christian policy rang out from his lips with no uncertain sound. It was re-echoed and, at the same time, softened by Lord Lawrence and Sir Donald McLeod, and the principles of the Panjáb policy are now well-known. Sir Herbert Edwardes was also very anxious that the Bible should be made a text-book in Government schools. We cannot here enter into the question at length. It will suffice to give Sir Herbert Edwardes' view in his own words:—"To the Bible and Christianity, he wrote, "England owes the soundness of her social heart, the God-

fearing manliness of her sons, the excelling purity of her daughters, the happiness of her homes, the loyal yet unenslavable character of her people; and that progressive prosperity which marks the nation that, as a rule, honours and is honoured by God. Yet this same England has forbidden her own religion to be taught in the Government schools of India, and withheld the Bible."

Holding these views, Sir Herbert Edwardes was a hearty supporter of Christian missions. His speech at the Anniversary Meeting of the Church Missionary Society in May, 1860, formed quite an epoch in the history of that Society. He took a leading part in the establishment of the mission at Peshawar. Directly the late Colonel Martin mentioned the subject to him, he took it up warmly. A meeting of the European residents was held on December 9, 1853, for the purpose of commencing the mission, Colonel Edwardes presiding, and the tone of this meeting, and the spirit in which this enterprise was begun, will be apparent from the following quotations from his speech. "The British Government," he said, "has wisely maintained a strict neutrality in religious matters, and Hindus and Muhammadans, secure of our impartiality, have filled our armies and built up our empire. It is not the duty of the Government, as a Government, to proselytize India. Let us rejoice that it is not; let us rejoice that pure and impure motives, religious zeal and worldly ambition, are not so lamentably mixed up. The duty of evangelizing India lies at the door of private Christians; the appeal is to private effort, private zeal, and private example. . . I say plainly that I have no fear that the establishment of a Christian mission at Peshawar will tend to disturb the peace. We may be quite sure that we are much safer if we do our duty than if we neglect it, and He who has brought us here with His own right arm will shield and bless us, if, in simple reliance on Him, we try to do His will." These noble words resounded throughout the Panjáb and throughout the whole land. The mission was started; it held on its even way in troublous times; and it still flourishes in perfect safety and efficiency.

Sir Herbert Edwards entertained the deepest sympathy for the people of the Panjāb. Having lived so long among them, he jocularly called himself half a Panjabi and half an Englishman. "Some of the happiest days of my life," he once exclaimed, "have been passed amongst that people, and if God has been pleased to add a honour upon me to render any measure of usefulness to my countrymen in that land, it has been solely through the instrumentality of those good, kind, and noble men, the people of British India. I say they are a people who will respect your kindness; I say their humanity is a great humanity. I say they have warm hearts and open generous generous feelings and that they are unresponsive to every kind of wrong like to bestow on them the most sweet words of their lips we close this book with the hope of a new day, a new office and a new path-way for India's improvement and people.



SIR MONIER MONIER-WILLIAMS, K.C.I.E.
1819—1899.

SIR MONIER MONIER-WILLIAMS

THE ENGLISH PANDIT

From A. D. 1819 to 1899

“ There are many tongues on earth ;
But only one in Heaven.”

THOUGH Sir Monier Monier-Williams was not what is usually called an Anglo-Indian, his life was one that ought to be known to the Indian people, in whom he took the deepest interest, and for whose benefit he continually laboured. He was the son of an officer in the Bombay Engineers, who was Surveyor-General of that Presidency, and he was born in the city of Bombay on November 12, 1819. He obtained an appointment in the Bombay Civil Service, which, after he had been for some time preparing for it at the East India Company's College, he resigned ; he was for several years a Professor in the same College, and helped to train very many of those who, in various capacities, and some even in high positions, took part in the Government of India ; he diligently studied the ancient classical language of India, and endeavoured to make himself fully acquainted with the customs, feelings, and religious beliefs of its inhabitants ; and he was the founder of an Institution at Oxford, one object of which is to promote the good of Indians residing in England. For these reasons, though he never served in India, we believe that he well deserves a place among the Anglo-Indian worthies who have loved and helped and strengthened her.

made in 1806 at Hertford, the chief town of Hertfordshire. Meanwhile, an estate was purchased at a place called Haileybury on a heath about two miles from Hertford, and the same distance from the little town of Ware; and a building was erected, which, for fifty years, was the training-place for those who were intended for the important offices held by the Civil Servants of the Company.

The building was not beautiful, but it was well adapted for its purpose. It was composed of a large quadrangle. On the south side were the chapel, the library, and the dining hall, while on the right was the Principal's house. On the northern and eastern sides were four blocks of small rooms or studies, intended for the students, which were called by the letters A, B, C, and D. There was accommodation for about a hundred students, that is, about twenty-five in each letter. The entrance to the building was through an avenue of chestnut trees leading to a gate on the west. On that side there were lecture-rooms and rooms for Professors. Other houses for Professors were situated in the centre of the blocks of rooms intended for the students, and also in the north-east and north-west corners of the quadrangle, some of the Professors being accommodated outside the College buildings.

Neither trouble nor expense was spared by the Court of Directors in procuring the most learned Professors to teach the various subjects that were intended for the students' instruction. We will say more on this subject hereafter, when Monier-Williams returned thither as himself one of the Professors. He was now entering as a student with the expectation of going to India at the end of two years' residence, as all his fellow-students did. When he entered the College, the chief authorities were the Rev. C. W. LeBas, the Principal, and the Rev. J. A. Jeremie, the Dean. He remained there only a year and a half; but he was one of those who determined to take full advantage of the excellent training there provided, and "worked" hard and steadily. Having entered rather late owing to his having first been at the University of Oxford, he had more experience than most of his contemporaries, some of whom

had gone there at seventeen years of age. He was first at the entrance examination, and maintained this position at the end of each term, though some of the men in his year afterwards distinguished themselves greatly during their service in India. Just as he was completing his third term, he received a severe shock from rather suddenly hearing of the death of his brother Alfred, who had been killed during the attack on an obscure fort in Beluchistan, and to whom he was most tenderly attached. This decided him not to leave his mother, who keenly felt this affliction, and consequently he gave up his appointment, and left Haileybury with the intention of going once more to Oxford.

On his return to that University in May, 1841, instead of going to his old College, he entered University College. His life there was very different from what it had been before. He now threw himself heartily into the work, instead of into the recreation, of the place. His ambition was fired. He read hard and he so completely gave himself to study that the natural result ensued—his health failed and he broke down. Perfect rest was prescribed. He went for a foreign tour on the Continent of Europe to recruit; but, as he himself says, he was too energetic. "The remedy for working hard was not playing hard. It was my nature to overdo everything that I undertook. I overdid study, I overdid athletic exercises, I overdid pleasure, and I overdid sight-seeing." The only hope was entire rest, and his mother, seeing this, took a house at Ryde, in the Isle of Wight, in the south of England. There his mind had rest in one way,—relief from study; but he was worried and anxious about what his future life should be, and what profession he should follow. This was only natural, for he had given up the thought of one path in life, and had not adopted another; and his ambitious spirit chafed at the idea of some quiet, unknown, dull routine of duty. One important resolution he made at this time.* This was to return to his Sanskrit studies, which he had laid aside on leaving Haileybury; and, on returning to Oxford in October, 1843, he set to work on them again, and often attended the

the beginning of 1844, and a great change had then been made in the office he was about to assume. Hitherto discipline in the College had been entrusted to a Council consisting of certain Professors; it was now placed solely in the hands of the Principal. We have stated that there was a chapel for religious services attached to the Colleges, and the students were required to attend there morning and evening; and, on Sundays, each Professor, who was also a clergyman, preached in turn. Mr. Melvill was what is called a "popular preacher," and throngs of people went to listen to him when he preached at a Church in Camberwell, a southern suburb of London. His addresses were peculiarly beautiful. He had a musical voice, which he knew how to manage skilfully, and his words, coming from his heart, thrilled and stirred his hearers. He took as much pains in preaching to the young students as he did when addressing large audiences. Mr. Melvill took no part in the teaching at the College, and it seemed to us that he somewhat failed in the faculty of properly enforcing discipline.

The second in authority, the Dean of the College, was the Rev. James Amiraux Jeremie. He was also Professor of Classical Literature. He was a shy, nervous, and retiring man, of a sensitive disposition, and rather too excitable feelings. He was a polished scholar, and it was a pleasure to listen to his lectures, which were sometimes rather rambling, but always fluent and sweet. He was a perfect master of clear and lucid English. His sermons were quite as beautiful as, and his language was often even choicer than, the Principal's.

The Professor of Law was Mr. William Empson. He lived outside the College in part of the old Manor House. He was an extremely able man, was for a time Editor of the *Edinburgh Review*, for which he often wrote, and was the son-in-law of the celebrated Lord Jeffrey, its first Editor. He was an excellent lecturer as to the matter of what he said, but his manner was painfully indistinct and low, and his hand-writing was almost illegible. It required much care and patience to profit by his admirable lectures. He was a kind, loving, and gentle character.

modest and pious withal, as shown by his desiring to have inscribed on his tomb nothing but these words from Holy Scripture, "The Lord is my shepherd; I shall not want."

The Rev. Richard Jones was the Professor of History and Political Economy. He was one of the ablest men in England, but a curious and eccentric character. His peculiarities made him a by-word among the students. There can be no doubt, however, of the extreme ability of his lectures, and of the great use they were to those who attended to them. Another Professor, who was hardly ever attended to with quiet and respect, was Mr. Francis Johnson, who lectured on Sanskrit. Learned, painstaking, accurate, but as simple as a child, he was totally unable to maintain order in his class-room, and too many took advantage of his mild and easy nature. He was a most admirable scholar in Persian and Arabic as well as in Sanskrit. In the last named language he published an edition of the *Hitopadesa*, selections from the *Mahabharata*, and an edition of the *Megha-duta*. He was a thoroughly pious man, full of charity and good works—what his epitaph states, "A workman that needeth not to be ashamed." "I can truly say," said Monier-Williams, "that, during a long life, I have never known a more excellent man, a more accurate scholar, and a more humble-minded Christian."

It will, perhaps, be sufficient to mention more briefly the other Professors who were at Haileybury, when the young Sanskrit scholar entered on his labours, and some who joined the circle of Professors later on. There was the Rev. J. W. L. Heaviside, afterwards Canon of Norwich Cathedral, who was an excellent teacher of Mathematics, and most genial and happy in manner. The Rev. Frederick Smith, Registrar of the College, did not act as a Professor. Colonel Ouseley, formerly of the Bengal Army, was Professor of Persian and Arabic; Captain Eastwick, who also had once been in the Indian Army, became Professor of Hindustani in 1845; and Mr. Leith, succeeded Mr. Empson as Professor of Law. The Rev. William Buckley succeeded Mr. Jeremie as Dean. He

was a wonderful collector of books and owned an extensive library, and he was an authority on Anglo-Saxon and early English literature. He seems to have been very popular as Dean of the College. The well-known Sir James Stephen, who had been Professor of History at Cambridge, succeeded Mr Jones as Professor of History and Political Economy, and held this appointment during the last three years of the existence of the College.

We have thus mentioned rapidly some of the more prominent figures in the society which Mr. Monier-Williams had entered. From all accounts the Professors seem to have lived very much as a happy family party. As the College was situated on a rather desolate heath, they were driven to rely upon their own resources for relaxation and amusement. Every now and then eminent personages from the great city joined the Professors at their board, and it was a peculiar pleasure to hear the conversation of distinguished men like Dr. Whewell, Sir John Herschell, Lord Jeffrey, Lord Brougham, and Mr. Nassau, Senior. The acquaintance of such men added life and zest to a career which was sometimes apt to become rather monotonous. Sir Monier wrote in after days,

"For my part I soon discovered that the very isolation of the College was not without its advantages. Thrown on their own resources, and shut up within the four walls of a rather dreary quadrangle, the Professors and their families determined to make themselves agreeable to each other; and, as a matter of fact, I feel justified in affirming that we constituted in our combined households, a very sociable and neighbourly society, living together in the utmost harmony and concord. Of course, misunderstandings between members of our social circle occasionally occurred, but were never allowed to last long, and all petty vexations were soon consigned by general consent to the limbo of oblivion."

Soon after Professor Monier-Williams's arrival he was informed by the Principal, much to his surprise, that one of the duties attached to his office would be to assist in maintaining discipline. This was a peculiarly difficult and trying duty. It must be remembered that, at this period, he was only twenty-five years of age,

not very much older than some of the senior students. Discipline had recently been rather lax, and the fact of his trying his utmost to maintain order, even though he endeavoured to do so with tact and discretion, tended to make him unpopular among some of the more thoughtless students. He had first to ensure quiet and attention during his lectures, which was no easy thing, and then to see that the subject on which he was lecturing was studied and understood. Another matter was much more difficult, and that was to see that those who attended his lectures wore the regular academical costume, namely, a black cap and gown and dark clothes harmonizing with them. Some of the young men of those days amused themselves, perhaps in a mere spirit of contrariety, by dressing in garments partly sporting, partly bed-room, and partly academical. Not being properly supported by the other Professors in his opposition to this custom, he was not successful in keeping it under control. There were other and more serious matters to deal with, and the young Professor met with much difficulty and incurred much dislike: but he had the satisfaction of knowing that he was walking in the path of duty, and entries in his private journal record how very keenly he felt his responsibility, and how heartily he desired to receive help from the only source whence it could be effectually obtained.

Besides his work as Professor, he set himself assiduously to literary labour in the line of his profession. We have mentioned the beginning of his English-Sanskrit Dictionary. All his leisure time was at first taken up with this arduous task. The first part was published in September, 1850, and the second part in November, 1851. In 1845 he began a Sanskrit Grammar. Feeling that the Grammars of Mr. Wilkins and Professor Wilson were rather too difficult for learners, he tried to produce a simpler one. To use his own words: "It seemed to me that it would be very advantageous to students of Sanskrit, if such a complex language could be presented to them in a new and simpler light." This simplified Grammar was published in the summer of 1846. The greatest praise of it which we have seen is contained in the

picturesque phrase of the Rev. James Long, who said that "it had brought down Sanskrit from the clouds to dwell among men." At the end of June, 1853, he published an edition of the popular Sanskrit drama *Sakuntala*.

Soon after the Professor had commenced his residence at Haileybury, he became engaged to be married to a young lady whom he had met when visiting some relatives at a village within an easy distance from Haileybury. This was Miss Julia Faithfull, the youngest daughter of the Rev. F. J. Faithfull, the Rector of Hatfield, and, on July 13, 1848, he was united to her in the Parish Church of that village. This was the beginning of a long and happy married life, which lasted for more than fifty years. Our readers will be interested to know that Hatfield House in the same village was the country residence of the Marquis of Salisbury, the late Prime Minister of England.

Professor Monier-Williams and his young wife began their life at Haileybury on August 17. The usual lectures began a month later, and then they joined in the ordinary routine of College life and work. They early began to take part also in spiritual labours for the benefit of those around them. On the first Sunday in the term they visited a school on the heath adjoining the College, where there were several cottages occupied by the College servants and others, with their families. The Professor took a class of boys, while Mrs. Monier-Williams had one of girls. He wrote,

"As a general rule I opened the Sunday School myself at nine in the morning, using a printed form of prayer. Moreover, after a time, I held a class of poor men from the neighbouring cottages in an additional room, sometimes, too, I had a class of youths from the heath at my own house on Sunday afternoons; and I frequently visited the poor in their own cottages, or, if any were sick or in need, helped them to the best of my power, after talking or reading to them."

All this benevolent and religious work very naturally led Professor Monier-Williams's clerical colleagues to ask him whether he would not be inclined to become a minister of the Church, and thus help them still more in their duties as clergymen. He carefully considered this request;

but came to the conclusion that he was not called in this direction. He said,

"In the end a conviction forced itself upon me that, although I was far in advance of my pupils, I needed complete devotion to the languages and literature of the East before I could flatter myself that I had gained any real mastery of the Oriental subjects, or any claim to be called a really efficient teacher."

So he continued his Oriental studies with redoubled zest and undiminished ardour.

Professor Monier-Williams laboured also for the spiritual welfare of the students. The door of his house was kept always unlocked, so that any one who wished for a quiet evening could enter, invited or uninvited, and join his family circle. On Sunday evenings he had frequently a gathering of six or seven young men who had come of their own accord. They read the sacred Scriptures together, and discussed the heavenly truths they contained, concluding this informal meeting with prayer. This was a privilege very highly valued by some of the students. We venture to extract a brief passage on this subject from the Professor's private diary. "May 18. I had a happy Bible-reading with my usual gathering of students in the evening. Our subject was. 'Let the peace of God rule in your hearts,... and be ye thankful.' (Col. 3. 15)."

So in the familiar round of lectures and other College duties, and of hard literary labour in Sanskrit literature, varied by excursions in England and abroad during the vacations, the life at Haileybury flowed swiftly on. From time to time the Professor visited Oxford in order to keep up his connection with the University. Up to 1856, although he had held the position and enjoyed the title of Professor, he had really been only Mr. Johnson's assistant; but, on that gentleman's retirement in January of the above year, he was appointed full Professor of Sanskrit, promotion to which he had been looking forward for many years.

The end of the East India College was rapidly approaching. It had already been decided that the appointments

to the India Civil Service should in future be given by competition instead of by patronage. This scheme was intended to include the abolition of the College ; but the action of Parliament was required to enforce this proceeding. A brief Act was accordingly passed, providing that no student was to be admitted into the College after January 25, 1856, and that the College itself was to be closed on January 31, 1858. Professor Monier-Williams's happy life at Haileybury was fast drawing to its close. The description of his last lecture is very touching. He wrote,

"When the lecture was over, and I was left alone, I knelt down and thanked God for the health and strength He had vouchsafed to me. I had not escaped attacks of illness, but I had never missed one lecture during the thirteen and a half years of my Professional life at the College."

The last Visitation Day of the Directors of the East India Company was on December 7, 1857. Mr Mangles was the Chairman ; and the Bishop of London, the Right Rev. Dr. Tait, who had been Professor Monier-Williams's tutor at Balliol, and was afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, delivered the final address. Thus closed the famous East India College at Haileybury ; and we conclude this account of it by quoting the words of the subject of this memoir, which were written some years later

"It would be difficult to point to any single one of our oldest and most venerable academic bodies, which could produce a better record of work done and results achieved during any fifty years of its career than that presented by this College during the half century of its active and generally prosperous existence."

Before the abolition of the College, he had been appointed Professor of Oriental languages at Cheltenham College, where about fifty of the boys were being taught Urdu ; and accordingly, in February, 1858, he removed thither with his family. His connection with this College, or rather school, may be regarded as a comparatively unimportant episode in his life, coming, as it did, between his

very useful career at Haileybury and his still more useful work at Oxford. His residence at Cheltenham lasted three years, and his connection with the College only two years and a half. After a brief experience of the work, he found that he did not feel the same interest in teaching boys, as he had done in his intercourse with young men. Though a few of the boys learned Sanskrit, the greater number had to be taught Urdu only for the purpose of passing examinations for the army, and teaching it was by no means so congenial to him as his favourite studies in Sanskrit. As was his wont, however, he threw himself heartily into this work for the time he was there; and, to help his pupils, he prepared an elementary Hindustani Manual, which was published in 1858, and which afterwards became the recognized class-book for beginners. In the spring of 1860 the prospect of a wider field of usefulness opened before him, which required the exertion of all his energies and power, and for which he found that he must resign his position at Cheltenham College.

In consequence of the death of Professor Wilson in May, 1860, the Boden Professorship of Sanskrit at Oxford became vacant. This office was thus named owing to the fact of its having been founded with a sum of money bequeathed to the University by Colonel Boden, of the Bombay Army, his main object being to promote the translation of the Bible into Sanskrit. The first Professor, Horace Hayman Wilson, was appointed in 1832. The vacancy was to be filled by the candidate who should obtain the greatest number of the votes of the Masters of Arts belonging to the University, who were the electors to this Professorship. It was necessary that a delay of seven months should be made in order that time might be given for applications to be received from India. The mode of election above described required a 'canvass,' which meant that application should be made to each elector, and his vote requested. It also involved a great deal of trouble and expense in printing, postage, and travelling. On the present occasion there were only two candidates—Professor Max Müller and Mr. Monier-Williams. This contest, which, as we have seen, lasted

seven months, created at the time a great deal of stir and excitement throughout the country, and a bitter controversy arose over it. Masters of Arts in all parts of the kingdom became deeply interested in it, and came up to Oxford to vote. Other questions were introduced. Not only was the fitness of the candidates as to their knowledge of the language and their power of teaching discussed, but also their political and religious opinions. The subject of this memoir was successful, being elected by the large majority of 223 votes.

The result of this election was that Mr. Monier-Williams became Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Oxford on December 7, 1860. The announcement to his friends was made in rather a dramatic fashion. A grand banquet was given in the Hall of University College to the old members of the College. A seat was reserved for Mr. Monier-Williams at the right hand of the Master, who presided, and it was arranged that he was not to enter the Hall until the result had been officially announced. "I braced myself up," he said when writing about this event, "to meet with as much calmness as I could command, one of the greatest trials that any one in this transient world can ever undergo—the trial of success and the applause which follows on it." As soon as he appeared every one rose, and heartily cheered him as he walked through the midst of the guests to the seat reserved for him at the high table. In his speech afterwards he stated that he had not prayed for success, but only that the will of God might be done, and, whether the other candidate or he might be chosen, that "the choice might make for the promotion of the glory of the great Disposer of all human events."

With this election a new era in Professor Monier-Williams's life began, which lasted until his departure on his first visit to India. He now entered on his Professorial career at Oxford. It was very like and yet very unlike his career at Haileybury. There his surroundings were comparatively isolated: he was now in the midst of some of the most intellectual society in the kingdom. There was, however, a similar round of lectures, instruction, and examinations. He commenced his residence at Oxford, on

February 5, 1861. Just a month afterwards he delivered his Inaugural Lecture, his subject being "the Study of Sanskrit in Relation to Missionary Work in India."

He soon felt anxious to justify his appointment by the production of some great work, which he liked to call his "diploma work," after the manner of artists, who, on election to be members of the Royal Academy, paint some beautiful picture to justify their election. He at once set to work to prepare a Sanskrit-English Dictionary for this purpose. "I felt," he wrote on setting this gigantic labour before him, "that I should have to make up my mind to continuous toil, involving strict seclusion in my study for ten or twelve years." Moreover, he determined to learn German so as to avail himself of German industry in this direction. It was also necessary for him to engage the services of an assistant to help him in this great work. His first coadjutor was Dr. Wenger, the well-known Missionary from Calcutta, and the translator of the Bible into Sanskrit, who happened to be in England at that time. It may be mentioned here that this book, begun in 1861, was published on June 1, 1872, though, to the end of his life, it was still under revision.

During the long course of this secluded literary labour, there intervened the usual official duties of a Professor and the social engagements of a University town. These were varied by domestic events and tours either in England or abroad; but they need not be related here. Soon after completing his Sanskrit-English Dictionary, an entirely new era in his life began. In October, 1874, he bought a house at Ventnor, a sheltered little town on the south coast of the Isle of Wight, which in after years he found a pleasant winter retreat. While there, an idea which had for some time been vaguely floating through his mind, took a definite shape. This was a tour to India. As he was brought by this visit into close contact with the Indian people, they would like, we think, to hear some of the reasons which led him to undertake it. He wrote,

"It is scarcely possible for me to follow out the several links in the chain of circumstances which led to this new

epoch in my biography—a chain which eventually dragged me from the seclusion of my study and the calm atmosphere of Oxford professorial routine into the glare of no little notoriety, and the stir of much exciting public activity. I may note, however, some of the chief factors in the bringing about of the change. In the first place the lexicographical labours which, for more than twenty years, had acted as a bar to my wandering far from the four walls of my study came to an end in 1872. Then, in the process of elaborating the work to which I devoted myself from the close of 1872 to the beginning of 1875—the work on Sanskrit literature which I called *Indian Wisdom*—I found myself frequently at fault, and unable to elucidate doubtful questions. This constantly forced upon me the conviction that a mere book-knowledge of India was an inadequate equipment for conveying information on the subject of Indian literature. Often, therefore, the idea came into my mind that a few months' personal contact with Indian pandits in their own country would enable me to solve many problems and clear up many difficulties. Then, during 1873 and 1874, I made the discovery that I had the power of making speeches before public assemblies on other subjects besides Sanskrit. I thought this might be utilized for delivering addresses about Indian subjects, and making the great dependency of England better known to the British democracy "

During 1874 and the beginning of 1875 the Professor worked hard at his new book *Indian Wisdom*, which is mentioned in the foregoing passage. It embodied the substance of the lectures on Sanskrit literature which he had delivered to his Oxford classes and on several public occasions. It was published in June, 1875. While preparing for his coming tour in India, he was further occupied with thinking out a new project, which he wanted to advocate in that country. This was the founding of an Indian Institute at Oxford for the promotion of Indian learning. It was intended not only to attract to that University selected candidates for the India Civil Service and to help them in their studies, but also to be of great advantage to Hindu students and others who visited England in various capacities. Three resolutions in favour of such an Institute were passed by the Congregation, or the governing body, of the University on May 13, 1875.

A circular was soon afterwards issued by Professor Monier-Williams, in which the following passage occurred :

"The principal object of such an Institution would be to form a centre of union, intercourse, inquiry, and instruction for all engaged in Indian studies. It would contain Lecture-rooms suited to the use of Professors of the Classical languages of India, and of teachers of the Indian Vernaculars to be hereafter attached to it. It might also contain a Library and Museum, and might combine appliances for the promotion of Semitic studies, so as to become a nucleus of development for a complete Oriental School at Oxford. As a number of Indians now frequent our Universities, it is thought that a scheme which will tend especially to their advantage is sure to meet with support in India."

Such was the first idea of a scheme which lay very close to the heart of Professor Monier-Williams, and which occupied a great part of his future time and energies. He interested in this project many distinguished men, not only at Oxford, but in every part of England, and obtained the co-operation of Lord Lawrence and others connected with India; and he also brought the subject to the notice of princes and notable persons during his tour. Just as he was starting, he wrote to *The Times* newspaper from the steamer: "My mission is to interest educated Indians in my proposal for founding an Indian Institute at Oxford."

Professor Monier-Williams started for India with Mrs. Monier-Williams and their daughter in the *Venetia* on October 14; and, after a favourable voyage, reached Bombay on November 10, 1875. They arrived at that port the day after the Prince of Wales, now the King of England and Emperor of India, had begun his memorable visit; and their first introduction to Indian life was in the midst of the wonderful scenes of festivity, loyalty, and excitement which that visit produced. The moving crowd, the bright Oriental colour, and the novel sights which greeted them deeply impressed them. They were met by a relative, Mr. G. F. Sheppard, who took them that evening to Ahmedabad, where he and his suite were encamped.

During their five months' stay in India Professor Monier-

Williams and his party travelled over the greater part of North India, remaining some time at many of the principal towns. He went from Bombay to Calcutta by way of Poona and Allahabad ; from Calcutta to Benares, Lucknow, Agra, and Lahore ; and returned by Allahabad to Bombay. His journey can scarcely be compared with the travels of an ordinary English gentleman who, desirous of seeing this marvellous country as well as other parts of the world, takes a cold weather tour to see it without any previous training or more than a general interest in its people, languages, and religion. Professor Monier-Williams had deeply and accurately studied the classical language of India, and his main object in this tour was not merely sight-seeing, but a real desire of improving and perfecting the knowledge he had already acquired. This object had a threefold aim : to study on the spot more of the Sanskrit language and Sanskrit literature ; to make himself acquainted with the customs, the mode of thought, and the religion of the Hindus ; and to advocate the founding of the proposed Indian Institute at Oxford in their interests and on their behalf. Keeping in mind these special aims, and recollecting that, in this brief memoir, there is not sufficient space to describe his travels in detail, we think it well to group our remarks under these three heads, and, where it is possible, to describe in his own words the scenes which he saw.

His first experience was in the usual camp life of a Collector who, in the course of his duty, was out in his district. This was in itself a wonderful novelty to one who had never been in this country before ; but he soon had closer intercourse with the people. On November 15, the chief minister or Brahmachari of the Maharaja of Warthal paid him a visit, bringing with him four learned ascetics. Professor Monier-Williams had hitherto obtained a book-knowledge of Sanskrit, he had now an opportunity of hearing it spoken and of speaking it, which is a very different thing. Of course, he confessed that he did not always understand what was said, and could not always make himself understood ; but, knowing the language well, he soon became more expert and fluent

as he obtained further practice. Most of the talking was done by the Brahmins themselves. He said,

"I had not had at that time any practice in conversational Sanskrit; but I managed to hold my own, and to ask them difficult questions, which they were so eager to answer that I had only to listen. They continually tried to talk each other down. I gradually calmed their excitement, and induced them to read and recite in turn. They even consented to chant portions of the Vedas to my great delight and edification."

Shortly afterwards he visited a pagoda at Ahmedabad, and there a large number of pandits assembled to greet him. The head priest led him to a large hall. He wrote,

"I was conducted to the seat of honour, and all the sages grouped themselves in a crowd around me. It was a trying ordeal, and a kind of situation which required to be met by a calm demeanour and complete self-possession. I was at first doubtful how to proceed, but a bright thought soon extricated me from my embarrassment. It occurred to me that I had only to explain in Sanskrit that I had come as a pupil for instruction. This acted like a charm, for no sooner had I asked one or two questions than the sluice-gates of talk were opened, and I had only to listen and chime in occasionally. One of the Sadhus read or recited a portion of the Bhagavat Purana for my benefit."

At Hooghly, where Sir William Herschel was the Collector, Professor Monier-Williams was taken to see two indigenous Sanskrit schools, which much interested and pleased him. They were situated apparently in the midst of a desolate jungle, but really among a teeming population. In the first, a small hut, was an aged pandit seated on the verandah with four or five pupils round him, all well protected from the chill morning air by warm red shawls wrapped round them. Before them lay open some beautifully written Sanskrit manuscripts, which the pandit was expounding. The Professor wrote,

"At my request, he went on with his teaching in my presence. At the end of the verandah another pandit was engaged in explaining a manuscript to a solitary pupil in some higher department of Sanskrit lore. It was a curious scene—the

open thatch-covered verandah, the surrounding jungle, the two shawl-clad pandits, with their pupils squatting on the ground, a few lookers-on peering at the unwonted spectacle, and the stillness of the wood near us unbroken except by the strange utterances of the Sanskrit teachers. At a pause in the lesson I conversed a little with the older pandit."

We will now go to a very different scene. When at Benares, Professor Monier-Williams visited the Maharaja of Benares in his palace on the opposite side of the river. During the visit, he had an interview with some of the Maharaja's best pandits in the beautiful surroundings of the palace, contrasting strongly with the humble schools just mentioned. He said,

"I greeted them in Sanskrit according to my usual custom, and immediately commenced a conversation, the Maharaja, who was himself a learned Brahman, striking in now and then with an apposite remark. I resorted to my usual tactics of asking puzzling questions, assuming from the first an interrogative attitude, as if I wished for instruction on various points of grammar, ritual, or philosophy. For instance, I began by asking the pandits to explain to me how it was that their great lawgiver, Manu, had described the sound of the Sama Veda as 'impure.' This was like applying a match to loaded guns. All had come into the room fully charged, and all wanted to be the first to fire off their learning. The result was a hubbub of many voices, until the old Maharaja, who can quite hold his own in any controversial discussion, interposed, and calling his pandits to order, answered the question himself in quite a masterly manner. This was my opportunity, and I was not slow in seizing on it, for rising up immediately, I made a salaam, and exclaimed, 'Hail, O king, you are the greatest pandit of all.'"

The Professor was very anxious to understand more thoroughly the nature of Hinduism. Though never ashamed to confess that he was a true and real Christian, he was prepared fully to appreciate the sincere professions of those who belonged to another religion. He desired to understand and to see the bright side of the Hindu faith, while he did not hesitate to express his regret for the darker side. This being the case, he was careful to visit

some of the most sacred places of Hinduism, and to witness some of its ceremonies. He entered several of the Hindu temples and observed the rites performed there. We mention only a few of the scenes he beheld. The view of the sacred places on the Godavery at Nasik particularly struck him. He wrote,

"It happened to be full moon, and to see sacred shrines and pinnacled temples on the banks of a picturesque river in the exquisite moonlight of India was a sight not to be missed, and never to be forgotten when once seen. The scene was indescribably lovely, and almost unearthly in its marvellous serenity, the temples standing out to perfection in the soft silvery light, and the river flowing peacefully through and around its consecrated stone basins. A number of white-robed priests seemed to rise up from the ground like ghosts. The white garments and noiseless movements enhanced the utterly weird aspect of the whole scene."

The next place we mention is the celebrated Vishnupad temple at Gaya, where the print of Vishnu's footstep is supposed to be visible, where Sraddha ceremonies chiefly are performed. The Professor said,

"The chief temple, which stands on an eminence, is approached by a broad flight of steps. We ascended these, and were met on the top by the chief priest, who was waiting there to receive us in full official garments. He was gorgeously arrayed in cloth of gold with an under-tunic of purple and gold, a mantle of green and gold, and a gold-embroidered white turban. He conducted us to the roof of one of the side buildings, whence we looked down on the magnificent Vishnupad temple built of black marble with pinnacles of pure gold. But the most surprising sight of all was the orderly crowd of pilgrims, hundreds of men and women from all parts of India, collected in countless little groups throughout the halls and colonnades...The earliest expression on the countenances of all was most remarkable, each man being intensely anxious to carry out the instructions of his priestly guide, and one especially having an almost painfully devotional look on his face."

We now accompany Professor Monier-Williams to what is considered by Hindus one of the most hallowed spots in the country, namely, Ajudhya. He said,

"I was intensely desirous of visiting this place, because, at an early period of my Sanskrit studies, I had been fascinated by the description of its grandeur in the first chapter of the Ramayana... Mounted on elephants, we first visited the mosque of Babar, a fine mosque built to supersede an ancient Hindu temple. The neighbourhood is still called *svargadvara*, heaven's gate, and is crowded with Hindu temples and Muhammadan mosques in close juxtaposition. In fact, the whole district of Ajudhya seemed to me one of the most interesting places in all India, not only from its teeming with ancient buildings—all more or less connected with, perhaps, the most popular phase of the Hindu religion—the worship of the Rama incarnation of Vishnu; but also from its illustrating the conflict between the two chief Indian religions, Hinduism and Islam."

We have only room for a description of one of the religious services which Professor Monier-Williams attended during his journey; but it is so graphic and interesting that it may well represent all. When visiting Allahabad a second time, he was invited by a friendly pandit to be present at what he called a kind of Hindu revival mission, at which a devotee from Vrindaran was to deliver an address. Some seventy or eighty devotees assembled to hear him. The audience at first hesitated when they observed the English visitor; but his companion introduced him as an English pandit, who had travelled all the way from a great University in England to make the acquaintance of his fellow-pandits in India. The Professor remarked,

"Thereupon they welcomed me with apparent cordiality, and offered me a seat in front of the preacher. To my surprise, too, the preacher requested me to select the subject of his discourse, mentioning three subjects. I chose the second, 'The childhood of Krishna,' and he launched at once into a really eloquent discourse, which few European orators could have surpassed in point of fluency and burning earnestness of manner. It was soon apparent that he had no intention of keeping to my one subject. His delivery became very rapid and impassioned, and I confess too rapid for me to take in everything he said. The aim of his utterances appeared to be the wonderful condescension of Krishna in

becoming a child, and dignifying childhood by his sports, while in the end he led his hearers to higher doctrines—the identification of Krishna with the one supreme-soul of the universe, the ultimate union of the soul with that supreme soul, the duty of regarding all external things as mere illusion, and the inevitable necessity laid upon every human being of reaping the fruit of actions, whether good or bad, either in the present or future lives. The sermon over, the Sadhus all joined in hymns to Krishna with much beating of drums and loud music, after which they did homage to the preacher, with offerings of incense and food and waving of lights before him. It was to me a most novel experience, and one which every mere book-Orientalist of Europe would have given a good deal to have witnessed : and far more than this, it was a peep behind the scenes—a lifting of the curtain which enabled me to search some of the secrets, and unravel some of the entanglements of the complicated fabric of Hinduism.”

While we shall see hereafter what was Professor Monier-Williams's matured opinion regarding Hinduism as compared with Christianity, his study of Hinduism and his contact with it during his two visits to India taught him the lesson of true Christian toleration. There was much in the Hindu character to which he was attracted, and there were some things in the Hindu religion which commanded his respect. He admired their regard for animal life. He said,

“ There is in Hinduism a beautiful tenderness towards the lower animals so mysteriously related to us, and so pathetically dependent on us—a tenderness which well deserves the imitation of Christian nations ; for are they not, in some degree, to us, what we are to the Almighty Creator, on whose loving care we are even more dependent ? ”

We are not quite sure whether the following words, which occur in his diary, are Professor Monier-Williams's own, or whether they are the records of what he had heard a friend say ; but, as they are not inserted between quotation-marks, and as they agree with what he has said in other places, we quote them here as his own. After mentioning various phases of Hindū belief, he added,

Then there is the doctrine that every man has the eternal and infinite deity dwelling within him, and hence that every man has the one eternal spirit, and therefore eternal life already abiding in him. Of course, as we know, Christianity teaches something similar and yet different, for it insists on the infinite individuality of man—not absorption in the Infinite; yet the fact that true Brahmanism has spiritual ideas, should make us hesitate before we bracket all the Non-Christian religions of the world together, or brand them all indiscriminately with the opprobrious term ‘Heathen.’

The word ‘Non-Christian’ was the term which he generally employed to designate such religions. We do not say or think for one moment that he approved of most of the doctrines of Hinduism, but we see that his object in coming to India was to study that religion at first hand, and that this study made him most tolerant.

After his own improvement in Sanskrit literature and a closer study of the customs, feelings, and religion of the Hindus, the third object of Professor Monier-Williams’s tour was the advocacy of his contemplated Indian Institute at Oxford. He had the good fortune to obtain several interviews with the Prince of Wales, whose good-will he enlisted in the scheme; and he also received the patronage of the Viceroy, Lord Northbrook, and of several of the most distinguished Maharajas and Rajas. He addressed public meetings in Calcutta and Bombay, summoned for the purpose of promoting the foundation of this Institute, and the plan was well-advanced by the time of his return to England. We may here mention that he joined in the festivities held in honour of the Prince in Calcutta and in Agra. It will be sufficient for our purpose and will enliven our narrative, if we give his own graphic account of the reception of the Prince on the memorable occasion of the latter’s arrival at Calcutta on December 23, 1875. He wrote,

“To-day we witnessed a wonderful sight, the like of which will probably never again be seen in India—the state-landing of the Prince of Wales at Prinsep’s Ghat...We were assembled on an elevated dais of great extent, carpeted with crimson cloth, under a vast pavilion, decorated with countless flags and festooned with garlands. Outside and all around

was a gently rippling sea of men, silent and well-behaved, and, to all appearance, docile and tractable as little children. I was surrounded by men of my own standing as well as by old pupils...Among the Maharajas especially noticeable were Holkar, Sindia, and Pattiala; the last appaerelled in a long blue satin coat with yellow sleeves, his legs tightly swathed in white. The coat was thickly embroidered with pearls, round his neck were strings of pearls and emeralds, and a magnificent diamond necklace, with a central diamond said to be worth some Rs. 400 or 500,000.

"It made me feel quite distinguished to be moving about among such a mass of sparkling gems and stars and medals in a plain black dress without a single ornament. At the right moment, in the midst of a thunder of salutes, the Prince stepped, with the Viceroy by his side, on the landing-stage, and paused a few moments before ascending. His whole demeanour was dignified and composed. I doubt whether any single man could have been found among the thirty-eight millions of Englishmen who could have borne himself with such admirable tact and urbanity of manner. He was wholly ignorant of every Indian language, and yet his courteous and winning smile and imitably affable bearing on his introduction to all the principal Maharajas and Nawabs, one by one, were far more eloquent and telling than spoken words."

After four busy and well-employed months Professor and Mrs Monier-Williams and their daughter, left Bombay on March 6, and reached London on April 8, 1876. He gave two lectures stating some of the results of his tour at Oxford, which were very well attended; and his leisure time was occupied in preparing a little book on Hinduism for the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, which he described as "a real labour of love." He was not satisfied, however, with what he had seen and heard and learned during only one tour in India, and he felt that he had failed to attain sufficient practical knowledge of Hinduism by confining himself to North India alone. He had the very great satisfaction of finding that the information he had already obtained had increased his power of more fully and faithfully discharging the duties of a Professorship, which had been founded with the express object of helping to induce our Indian fellow-subjects

to consider favourably the claims of the religion of Christ. The more he considered the matter, the more conscious he felt that there were gaps in his knowledge which ought to be filled in, that, in fact, genuine Hinduism was only to be met with in Southern India, and that, until he had placed himself in contact with the pandits of the South, he could not be considered a trustworthy guide to the intricacies of the most complicated religious system in the world. Accordingly he came to the decision that he would undertake another tour in India similar to the last, but this time to the South. On this occasion he was accompanied by his brother Charles and by his third son Stanley. They left England in the steam-ship *Nepaul* on October 12, 1876.

During his second tour Professor Monier-Williams adopted very much the same plan as he did during his first tour. He visited places of interest, but not with the object of mere sight-seeing or for their historical reminiscences or for the pleasure of beautiful scenery. His main object was to supply the deficiencies of his former visit by travelling to the great pagodas and sacred sites of Southern India; to hold converse with Brahmans and others acquainted with Sanskrit literature; and to observe various Hindu ceremonies, ever keeping in view, amidst all that he saw, his own efficiency in future labours for the good of the people themselves, and his own cherished idea of an Indian Institute at Oxford. Instead of giving a connected narrative of his journey through Southern India, we think that the better plan will be for us to make a few extracts from the account which he published while the impressions left on his mind by this tour were fresh. He was disappointed in the appearance of Madras; but he was deeply gratified by what he saw of the great Southern cities, and by the sacred sites of the Hindu faith. He was especially attracted by the peculiar phases of the Hindu religion to be witnessed in South India. He wrote,

“Religion is here even more closely interwoven with every affair of daily life, and is even more showily demonstrative than in the North. Unhappily, it is not of a kind to strengthen the character or fortify it against temptation. A distinction

must be pointed out between Brahmanism and Hinduism. Brahmanism is the purely pantheistic, and not necessarily idolatrous, creed evolved by the Brahmans out of the religion of the Veda. Hinduism is that complicated system of polytheistic doctrine, idolatrous superstitions, and caste usages which has been developed out of Brahmanism after its contact with the non-Aryan creeds of the Dravidians and aborigines of Southern India. Brahmanism and Hinduism, though infinitely remote from each other, are integral parts of the same system. One is the root, and the other is the diseased outgrowth. It is on this account that they everywhere co-exist in the same localities throughout the whole of India. Nevertheless, the most complete examples of both creeds are now to be looked for in Southern India, because the North has always been more exposed to Muhammadan influences. In fact, it is the South which produced the great religious revivalists."

We have not space for the description which he gives of the tenets of the various Hindu reformers, so we proceed at once to his summing up of the effects of these forms of religion on the character of the people. He went on to say,

"The question arises how far these creeds have tended to degrade the character and condition of the people of India. Here we must guard against confusing cause and effect. In my opinion, the present low intellectual and moral condition of the masses of the Hindu people is as much the result of their social usages as it is the cause of their own superstitious creeds. It is very true that these social usages, enforced by caste rules, are now part and parcel of their religious creeds: but they do not properly belong to the original pure form of the Hindu religion. They are merely one portion of its diseased outgrowth, and they are the true cause of that feeble condition of mind in which the later superstitions have naturally taken root and luxuriated. Not that the rules of caste have been an unmixed evil. On the contrary, they have done much good service to India. Each caste has been a kind of police to itself, keeping its own members in check and saving them from lawlessness. But the advantage thus gained has been far outweighed by the irreparable harm done to the physical, mental, and moral constitution of the people by the operation of caste in three principal particulars—in making early marriage a religious duty, in obliging castes to marry

within themselves. and in surrounding family life with a wall of secrecy. . . . What is the chief hope for the future ? It seems to me to lie in a complete reorganization of the social fabric, in a new ideal of womanhood, and an entire renovation of family life. This, it will be said, amounts to an upheaval of the whole social fabric. Yet it is not, in my opinion, a work of such hopeless magnitude as some would make it out to be. Symptoms of impatience under caste restrictions are already observable among the wealthier and better educated classes, and social reform is openly advocated in many quarters."

We have space for only one more extract from Professor Monier-Williams's interesting reminiscences. His tour was undertaken about the time of the terrible famine which afflicted South India some thirty years ago, and the following words written at that time are truer now than they were then, as still more grievous famines have since desolated the land. He wrote,

"The last famine will have effected a great benefit, if it opens our eyes to India's needs and to our own shortcomings ; if it convinces our Indian fellow-subjects of England's devotion to their welfare ; if it evokes feelings of gratitude in return for the active sympathy displayed ; if it helps to draw the rulers and the ruled closer together by bonds of mutual kindness, confidence, and cordiality "

These words show how much his heart had been drawn towards the people among whom he had been travelling.

During the cold season of 1883-84, Professor Monier-Williams made yet a third journey to the country in which he took such a deep and lively interest. He left England on November 21, 1883, and reaching Calcutta near the end of the year, he was the guest of the Marquis of Ripon, who was then Viceroy. The main object of this journey was to induce the Government of India to sanction the foundation of six scholarships of £200 a year each to be held by young Indian students from the four Universities of India, who would undertake to finish their education and take their degrees at Oxford. He was successful in attaining this object, and the grant was confirmed in England by the Secretary of State for India. He revisited some of the scenes of his former journey to North India, and

received more of the information he was desirous of obtaining regarding the customs, religions, and languages of the people for the second volume of his book on Indian Religious Thought. He returned to England in April, 1884, and in the following month, he delivered at Oxford two lectures on his travels, which were much appreciated.

The great scheme for which Professor Monier-Williams had been thinking and planning for so many years—the foundation of an Indian Institute at Oxford—was now nearing completion. We have already mentioned that certain resolutions had been passed by the governing body of that University in approval of the scheme, and that Professor Monier-Williams continually urged its claims during his tours in India. On his return the project was actively forwarded in England, and a sum amounting to £20,000 was collected. A site was secured in one of the principal streets of Oxford, and it was afterwards conveyed to the University, a Board of Managers being appointed for the purpose of maintaining the building when erected. Queen Victoria graciously expressed her approval of the idea, and consented to become the Patron of the Institute. A memorial stone was laid by the Prince of Wales on May 2, 1883; and, when the building was nearly complete, it was opened for use on October 14 in the following year by Dr. Jowett, the Vice-Chancellor of the University. On the latter occasion an address was delivered by Professor Monier-Williams on the subject, "How can the University of Oxford best fulfil its duty towards India?" In this address he expressed his hope that the Institute would have two wings, one spreading itself to foster Eastern studies among Europeans, the other extending itself to foster Western studies among Indians. In this way it seemed to him that the Institute would help the University of Oxford to do its duty in promoting the interchange of the literary wealth of Asia and Europe, and in repaying with interest the wisdom and knowledge received centuries ago from the East.

We think that a description of this building, which has been so useful to visitors from India, will be interesting to all our readers, even though they may

not propose to go to England and thus utilise it for themselves. The principal entrance faces Broad Street. There is a spacious porch, with a gallery extending the whole length of the south side. On the ground-floor there are the porter's lodge and three lecture-rooms; on the first floor are the curator's rooms, the museum, and the library; and on a still higher floor are a room for the assistant curator, and the upper part of the museum and library, which forms a sort of deep gallery above the open space below. Such is a brief description of this useful building, the outward form of an excellent institution, which, let us hope, with its founder, may remain in future years what he designed it to be—"a centre of Oriental teaching and research, and a kind of new edition of old Haileybury College, resuscitated for the benefit of all students preparing for Indian careers." It remains to be added that, on March 8, 1886, Her Majesty the Queen conferred the honour of knighthood on Professor Monier-Williams in recognition of his services in connection with this Indian Institute, thereby showing her appreciation of Oriental learning and of his efforts to advance it. In the following year, the year of Her Majesty's Jubilee, she conferred on him the additional honour of being created a Knight Commander of the Order of the Indian Empire.

The later years of Sir Monier Monier-Williams, as we now have the pleasure of calling him, were spent in perfecting his Sanskrit Dictionary, in correcting new editions of his other works, and in speaking, from time to time, at the gatherings of various scientific and religious Societies. His health was not very good; and he was, therefore, generally obliged to spend the first few months of the year, which are sometimes very trying, either at his beautiful residence near Ventnor, or in the south of France, where the climate is warmer than in England. He still held the Professorship of Sanskrit at Oxford, but he availed himself of the services of an assistant, who helped to lighten his duties. We shall later on refer to some of the speeches and the addresses which he delivered at this period; but there is one important event which we think ought to be mentioned, as we believe that it will be

of interest to our readers. We will first describe the custom to which it refers, giving thereby a peep into the domestic life of the people of England, which, perhaps, may not be known to all. It is the custom for married persons who have lived together for twenty-five years, to keep what is called their "silver wedding"; and, if they are permitted to live together for fifty years, to keep what is called their "golden wedding." On these occasions, and especially the latter, relations gather together for the purpose of rejoicing and giving thanks for life preserved and blessings bestowed. On July 13, 1898, Sir Monier and Lady Monier-Williams celebrated their "golden wedding." It was a happy and joyous time. Their children and grandchildren to the number of twenty-six met together at the house of their eldest son. There was a special service in the village church, and the following prayer, composed by Sir Monier himself, was offered: It is so sweet and beautiful that we reproduce it here in order that it may be translated, and used by Indian Christian families on similar occasions.

"Most merciful Father, thy servants united in holy matrimony for fifty years desire this day to offer thee the homage of grateful hearts for all the blessings thou hast bestowed upon them during their long pilgrimage together, for thy loving-kindness in having preserved them to each other, for thy goodness in having granted them many loved and loving children, and spared them to see their children and their children's children gathered around them on this joyful anniversary in health and happiness. They would also bless thy holy Name for that thou hast guided, upheld, and strengthened them in their daily work for so many years; that thou hast brought them through sickness, trials, and anxieties; that thou hast gladdened them with unnumbered gifts of joy, and chastened them with the discipline of sacred sorrow; that thou hast pitied their infirmities, and borne with them in their sins, negligences, and ignorances; and, most of all, that thou hast assured them of forgiveness, through the merits of their Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ." Amen.

The end was not far off. He had, according to his wont, gone the following winter to the south of France, and

resided at Cannes on the shore of the Mediterranean Sea. While staying there he was taken seriously ill, and we think that the account of his death is so beautiful and touching that it should be given a little in detail, for it clearly shows to all, whether they be Christians or not, how calmly and hopefully a Christian can die, or, rather, as we Christians say, fall asleep in Christ. On Sunday night, April 9, 1899, he was seized suddenly with weakness of the heart. Next day, after he had for several hours been struggling for breath, he roused himself, and, to the amazement of all present, said that he wished to dictate his last prayer. This was done, and he corrected what had been written. He then asked for another copy to be written; and, with trembling hand, himself revised this final copy, thus summing up the belief of a life-time, which was sustaining him in the hour of death. The following are the words forming this affecting soliloquy and prayer :

“ My God and Father has taught me that, if I am a true believer in His beloved Son, I must be a new creature in Him, and if I am a new creature in Him, I must have Christ *formed* within me, I must have Christ living *in* me, and if I have *Christ living in me*, I must have life in myself. I cannot really die. What is called death will only be transition. But my last prayer is that I may have Christ *in* me at my last hour, that I may not be forsaken by Him at the last, as Christ Himself was forsaken by His Father. My Saviour, forsake me not at my last hour. Fulfil thy gracious promise, ‘ I will never leave thee, nor forsake thee.’ My Father, accept this my last prayer for thy dear Son’s sake.”

He fell asleep early in the morning of April 11, in the eightieth year of his age.

Sir Monier Monier-Williams was a man of remarkable firmness and decision of character, and yet withal he was modest even to shyness. He had a great aptitude for acquiring languages, and he turned his knowledge in this respect to good account. His desire was not the mere learning of a language for the pleasure of acquiring it and reading its literature; but because it helped him to know and understand the people who spoke it. When he was

on his death-bed, a friend said to him, "You have always been a lover of languages." "Yes," he replied; "but I have only cared for languages in so far as they throw light on the religions and customs of men." He was very tenacious of purpose. The industry and perseverance with which he thought out the plan of the Indian Institute at Oxford, and carried it to a successful issue, is a striking instance of this.

All the published works of Sir Monier Monier-Williams were designed for the benefit of India, and for the purpose of making Englishmen and Indians better acquainted with each other. Even his dictionaries and grammars aimed at rendering the acquisition of India's beautiful classical tongue easier to all who were to take part in the government, the instruction, and the evangelization of India, and at enabling them more readily to acquire the spoken languages of the country.

He felt that he had been called, as his life's work, not only to help in drawing England and India nearer together; but also to show in the clearest manner the vast superiority of Christianity over all the ancient religions of the East. Few have succeeded in doing this so lucidly and forcibly. Few have obtained a more intimate knowledge of Hinduism, Buddhism, and Islam. Few have more conclusively proved how Christianity surpassed them.

We think that here again the best way to show the conclusions to which Sir Monier arrived after a careful study and comparison of the more prominent ancient religions of the Eastern world, is to make a few extracts from what he himself said upon this all-important subject. He said on one occasion,

"Search the sacred books of the East, * and tell me; do they affirm of Vyasa, of Zoroaster, of Confucius, of Buddha, of Muhammad, what our Bible affirms of the Founder of Christianity, that He, a sinless man, was made sin?—not merely that He is the eradicator of sin, but that He, the sinless Son of Man, was himself sin. Vyasa and the other founders of Hinduism enjoined severe penances, endless lustral washings, incessant

* *The Holy Bible and the Sacred Books of the East*, by Sir Monier Monier-Williams. London. Seeley & Co.

comforting religion of Christ. There might, here and there, be some truths contained in other forms of belief ; but this was the truth itself, and the only authentic revelation of the living God to sinful and fallen man.

When we think of the departure of scholars and linguists who have had to deal with various languages during their earthly career, we call to mind the dying words of Professor Conington, one of Sir M. Monier-Williams's colleagues at Oxford, who had acquired a world-wide reputation for scholarship and learning. In his later years he had returned to the simple and childlike faith of his earlier life, which had for a season been clouded. As he drew near his last moment, a calm and heavenly joy seemed to pervade his spirit, and his utterances were full of triumph. From time to time he appeared to hear some beautiful and incommunicable words, and he repeated these lines, whence taken none of the listeners knew—

“ Now the vision is complete ;
This is the way they speak in heaven.”

So with the subject of our memoir. He has left behind the many tongues we speak on earth, and has gone to hear and speak the one sweet tongue of Heaven.

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Photo by Elliott and Fry, Baker Street, W.

SIR ARTHUR T. COTTON, R.E., K.C.S.I.

SIR ARTHUR T. COTTON,

R.E., K.C.S.I.,

PHILANTHROPIST AND ENGINEER.

BY

HENRY MORRIS,

(MADRAS CIVIL SERVICE, *Retired*),

*Author of "Anglo-Indian Worthies," "The History of the Godavery District,"
"A Simplified Telugu Grammar," and other works.*

"The desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose."

FIRST EDITION, TWO THOUSAND COPIES.

THE CHRISTIAN LITERATURE SOCIETY FOR INDIA:
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1901.

SIR ARTHUR COTTON:

PHILANTHROPIST AND ENGINEER.

FROM 1803 TO 1899

"Blessed is the man that trusteth in the Lord, for he shall be as a tree planted by the waters, and that spreadeth out its roots by the river, and shall not fear when heat cometh, but its leaf shall be green, and shall not be careful in the year of drought, neither shall it cease from yielding fruit."—*Isaiah*.

This passage is a beautiful description of a godly man, whose hope and trust are placed in the Lord. Such an one is compared to a tree planted in a well-watered garden, which, even in seasons of drought, remains green and flourishing, and never ceases to bring forth its fruit. Those who live in a part of India which is thoroughly irrigated, like the Godavari Delta, will fully understand and appreciate this appropriate illustration, and will rejoice in the scene of fruitfulness which it describes. It equally depicts the fertility of the well-watered land and the life of the wise and godly man who brought to it the means for its luxuriant fruitfulness.

Few men, during the present century, have done more to benefit India than Sir Arthur Cotton. There are few names which ought to be remembered by the people of Southern India with greater honour, and there are few men whose memory they should cherish with greater gratitude. Others have benefited India by the preparation of just and equal laws, have ruled with courtesy and kindness, have laboured for the people with life and voice, and pen have shielded them from the attacks of enemies, and given them the inestimable blessing of peace. Sir Arthur Cotton conferred on them benefits of a different kind. He bled mighty rivers by his engineering genius.

and skill, and made the districts through which they flow permanently fertile and prosperous, free from famine, and capable of supplying other places in times of scarcity and distress. The Kavarî, the Kistna, and the Godavery were, by his noble works, rendered sources of fertility and blessing, and remain to this day visible monuments of his skill. His life also, pure, simple, and golly, was a beautiful example to all those with whom he was associated in his official labours.

Arthur Thomas Cotton was the ninth son of Mr. Henry Calveley Cotton, who, at one time, served in one of the regiments of the Royal Guards, and was afterwards connected with the Post Office. He was born on May 15, 1803, at Woodcot, near the town of Reading, in the county of Berkshire. He owed much to his mother, who was a very remarkable lady, and who exercised a salutary influence over her children. At an early age he showed great power of thought and reflection, and also much interest in canals and other engineering works.

At the early age of fifteen Arthur Cotton received a cadetship in the service of the East India Company, and, in 1818, entered their Military College, or, as it was called, Academy, at Addiscombe. This institution was situated a mile or so to the east of Croydon, a town about twelve miles from London on the south. It had been founded a few years before for the purpose of training young officers who were going to India. It has now been abolished. The buildings have been pulled down, and not a vestige of it remains. Arthur Cotton there obtained the distinction of getting into the corps of Engineers, which was an honour gained by the more diligent students. He left the Academy in December, 1819. After serving in the Ordnance Survey at Bangor in Wales, he went to the great military station at Chatham on the river Medway in Kent, where the young Engineer officers usually go for further training. He left for Madras in May, 1821, arriving there in the following September. In May, 1822, he was appointed Assistant Engineer in the Southern Division,

and the very first work on which he was employed was connected with the department in which he was afterwards celebrated, and in which he did so much good to the country. He was employed in the examination of the Pambam Channel with the object of making it navigable.

Lieutenant Cotton's next appointment was Assistant to the Chief Engineer at Madras, which he retained about two years. He then joined the army in Burmah, war having broken out with that country. He was present at the capture of Rangoon on May 11, 1824, and was actively engaged in many of the actions during that campaign, in which he showed conspicuous courage, freely exposing himself, while leading storming parties, but remaining himself uninjured. We do not propose to follow his career throughout the war; and content ourselves with quoting his own estimate of the manner in which it was conducted. "It was," he afterwards wrote, "a very melancholy business inconceivably mismanaged, and only worth recording for the purpose of showing in a strong light the astonishing improvement in the conduct of our wars now. Looking back, I can hardly believe the profound ignorance of the art of war and even of details of professional duty."

Sir Arthur, throughout his career, had a wholesome horror of gambling. This aversion was caused by an incident that occurred while he was in Burmah. One evening he played at cards with one of his superior officers in whose house he was staying as a guest, and he lost Rs. 200, which, in those days, was to him a very considerable sum. Payment in full was exacted. This conduct so disgusted him that from that moment he took a violent dislike to gambling, which clung to him during the remainder of his life. "If such games," he reasoned, "so blight a man's generosity and kindness, the effect of such games of chance must be disastrous."

At the close of the campaign Lieutenant Cotton returned to Madras. Up to this time he had been leading the careless, ungodly, indifferent life which too many men who are called by the name of Christian are in the habit of

doing. They would be surprised if they were told that they were not really entitled to that holy name ; but they are entirely ignorant of the true nature of the religion of Christ. As Lieutenant Cotton was quietly sitting one evening on the deck of the vessel in which he was sailing, and admiring the beautiful star-lit night, the thought of the Creator of all that wonderful scene forcibly seized hold of his mind. " Who made these worlds ? " he exclaimed. " Upon whose handiwork am I gazing now ? It is the work of God, our great Creator " Unhappily he had not studied the Bible, which is the word of God, and in which He is revealed as the Creator of all things as well as the Saviour of all men. The thought now occupying his mind, however, made him consider, and fall into the following train of ideas. " If there is a great Creator, if He made the world, the sun, the moon, the stars, what do I know of Him ? Has He ever spoken ? If so, what are His words ? The Bible is the word of God. I ought to read it. I should like to know what He says " Immediately, on the impulse of the moment, he rushed below into the cuddy, where his brother-officers and others were playing at cards. As he hurriedly entered, he simply asked the direct question, " Is there a Bible on board the ship ? " Such an unusual question astonished them, and they burst into laughter ; but he was too much in earnest to mind, and persisted in urging his request. One of the party then said that he had a Bible, but that it was packed at the bottom of his trunk. To please him, a search was made for it at once, and it was placed in his hands. He forthwith began his perusal of the sacred volume, and he studied it day after day. This was the beginning of a life-long devotion to the glorious Redeemer who had made all things, and in whom alone the heart of man can find true rest. He reached Madras in June, 1826, and, when he returned to England some four years later, his religious experience was deepened and quickened by intercourse with one of his brothers, who was a clergyman, and in whom he found a congenial friend.

On his return to India, he reverted to his former employment as a Civil Engineer on irrigation works both in the Pambam Channel and on the Kavari. His health, however, had become very bad, and he was subject to frequent attacks of jungle fever. He went for a time to the Nilgiri Hills for change; but, at last, in 1830, he had again to return to England to recruit. He had been promoted to the rank of Captain in the previous year.

After a pleasant sojourn in his native land, Captain Cotton went back to India by a new and unusual route. Starting in June, 1832, he travelled across France to Marseilles, and thence went by sea to Alexandria and Beyrout, which he reached on January 4, 1833. Then he proceeded to Jaffa and Jerusalem, and travelled slowly through the Holy Land to Damascus. This part of the journey proved to him a source of pure delight. "I was glad," he said, "to walk on ground where I knew my Lord had past before me. Almost every place was remarkable for some transaction in which the hand of God had specially appeared."

There was a touch of romantic and pathetic interest in this journey owing to the attachment for Captain Cotton formed by a young Syrian gentleman at Beyrout, named Michael Traad. He had become familiar with Christianity through the teaching of a friend and the instruction of certain European or American Missionaries. After making his acquaintance, Captain Cotton proposed to the party of friends with whom he was travelling that Michael should accompany them as interpreter, and they found him most useful in this capacity, and in smoothing away difficulties with the various Arab Sheikhs.

Captain Cotton and his companion, Major Skinner, were the first to ride into Damascus in European costume. The country was then under the strong rule of Ibrahim Pasha, and the Governor of Damascus was most anxious about the safety of the travellers when they started for Baghdad. He himself made all the arrangements for them, providing the necessary escort. They were placed under

the charge of a Sheikh, who was returning thither, and who, having been in India as a horse-dealer, had become accustomed to European ways. On the morning after their arrival in safety at Baghdad, Captain Cotton went to the Mission House, where Mr Antony Norris Groves, afterwards well-known in South India as a missionary, Mr. Parnell and Mr. Cronin had for some time been residing. They had recently past through a terrible time of anxiety and distress, the plague having been peculiarly virulent. Here Captain Cotton's English companion left him to visit the ruins of Babylon.

The trouble through which Mr Groves and his colleagues had past, led them to think that they were called to leave Baghdad for another sphere of labour, and Captain Cotton induced Mr Groves to accompany him to South India. Accordingly they went to Bushire, attended by Michael Traad. Here Captain Cotton became exceedingly ill, so that for some time his life was despaired of. Mr Groves and Michael nursed him night and day and he was restored, as a direct answer to prayer, when all hope of recovery had seemed to depart. They remained at Bushire for several weeks. When Captain Cotton was well enough to be moved, a vessel in the Persian Gulf was ready to sail, and the master agreed to take the party to Bombay, where they arrived on September 2nd, 1833, and whence they went on to Madras. Before starting, Captain Cotton asked Michael what he wished to do, and whether he still wanted to go with him. For answer, Michael opened his Bible at the book of Ruth, and pointed to the sixteenth verse of the first chapter. We quote the pleading, touching words therein contained, as some of our readers may not readily remember them. "Intreat me not to leave thee, or to return from following after thee: for whither thou goest, I will go; and where thou lodgest, I will lodge: thy people shall be my people, and thy God my God." So they went together to Tanjore. Michael remained there with Captain Cotton for three years, learning more of the truth of the Gospel

and growing in grace. Then a longing to return to Syria so that he might speak to his own family, grew irresistibly strong, and he left his friend and departed to his own country. Captain Cotton heard much of his holy life and winning manner from others, and received several letters from himself. Suddenly the letters ceased, and it was afterwards ascertained that he had died of hip disease brought on by a fall on board ship. Thus ended this pleasant Christian friendship.

On reaching Tanjore, Captain Cotton resumed his former employment in attending to the irrigation works on the Kavari. His health, however, had not been thoroughly restored by his visit to England and his subsequent travels, so, in 1838, he had to leave India again. This time he went to Tasmania. His reason for going in this direction was to accompany Dr. Mackay, a colleague of Dr. Duff's, the well-known missionary, and from no desire of his own. It seems that he returned to India, and was obliged to go back again on sick certificate. While there on this second occasion, he married Miss Elizabeth Learmouth on October 29, 1841, with whom he lived a truly happy life which lasted nearly sixty years.

We now return to Captain Cotton's professional services. So far back as 1828, he had been sent to Tanjore for the purpose of examining into the state of the rivers in that part of the country, and the irrigation dependent on them. The result of his careful study of the subject was a marvellous scheme of irrigation, not only for that district, but for all India, which seems to have been the direct inspiration of genius, and which entitles the author of it to be regarded as one of the greatest benefactors India has ever known. On his arrival from England after his arduous, but enjoyable, tour through Syria and Baghdad, Captain Cotton returned to Tanjore as the Civil Engineer, his district consisting of that district, Trichinopoly, and two taluks of South Arcot. The irrigation of the two former districts depended entirely

on a scanty supply of water from the rivers Coleroon and Kavari ; but the greater part of the water flowed idly into the sea. Captain Cotton's project was to throw two annicuts across the former river to arrest and store the water, and to send it in countless channels and canals to fertilize the land. Both these annicuts were built in the brief season during the cessation of the freshes in the river in 1835-36, all the persons interested in the project, working with the greatest energy and zeal. Captain Cotton's brother, Captain Hugh Calveley Cotton, who was acting for him as Civil Engineer, was in actual charge of the works, but he was himself present during their construction, though nominally on leave.

The ingenuity of Captain Cotton's design will be more clearly understood and appreciated by a brief description of the two rivers and of their connection with each other at that time. The Kavari, after a long course from the Western Ghats, separated into two streams at the island of Seringham, ten miles west of Trichinopoly, and about a hundred miles from the sea, the southern branch, which flowed through Tanjore, being still called the Kavari, and the northern branch, the Coleroon. The latter was much the larger of the two, and had a free passage to the sea, continuing to be a large and powerful river, while the Kavari, at the distance of twelve miles from its head, began to throw off branches, and was soon reduced to an insignificant stream by the endless number of channels and water-courses which were drawn from it as it proceeded. The one preserved the character of a large river, and flowed direct to the sea, while the waters of the other were distributed among the channels that fertilized Tanjore. The Kavari completely reversed the course of things usually observed in rivers. Instead of following the lowest line of country, and increasing in size by the reception of tributary streams as it advanced, it flowed over a high tract of land, and gradually diminished in size. When the freshes came down, the current of the Coleroon, from its straight and free course, was sufficiently powerful

to preserve its channel comparatively clear, and a great part of the mud and sand with which it was charged was carried into the sea. But the Kavari was very different. Being the smaller river, and flowing on a high level, banks of mud and sand were left, and it was, at one time, expected that it would altogether disappear.

During the very high freshes, a larger quantity of water entered the Kavari than was required for the cultivation of Tanjore, and, as the superfluous water would continue to be injurious, it was allowed to escape back into the Coleroon over what was called the Grand Annicut. This was a work of ancient construction on the north bank of the Kavari, ten miles below Trichinopoly. From this it appears that the idea of an annicut for diverting the flow of water was originated by Indian skill, and that Captain Cotton incorporated it into the more elaborate system of his own plans.

There was also another device of the ryots for diverting the course of streams which ought to be mentioned. This was a temporary and movable dam called a *Korambu*. It was composed of a bank of sand intermixed with brushwood or grass, and placed obliquely across the bed of the river. As soon as the stream was sufficiently small to enable the ryots to close it by means of timber and long fascines of straw, the dam was completed so as to turn the whole of the water into the proper channel.

It will, we think, be interesting to quote here some passages from Captain Cotton's first Report on the subject, taken from the "Professional Papers of the Corps of Madras Engineers" published for private circulation. It is dated January 29, 1834. It is interesting and important, because it gives his first impressions on the subject of river irrigation, and reveals the earliest working of his mind at the very inception of his admirable scheme. When we compare it with his latest utterances on the subject, it will be seen how straight his ideas went towards the final goal, and, even to the last, continued in the same direction.

"In considering," he wrote at this early date, "how this noble river may be improved to the utmost, it immediately occurs, that our grand object must be not to let its water run to waste into the sea. In high freshes an immense quantity is lost, because it comes down faster than it can be applied to use; in low freshes a smaller quantity is lost at the very time it is most required, because it is on too low a level for the lands to be irrigated by it, I know of no way by which the first point may be gained, except the usual one of storing the water up in tanks until it is wanted. It is to the second point, namely, saving of water in low freshes that I wish particularly to call the attention of Government

"The two plans usually adopted for raising the water from the bed of a river to a sufficient level to answer the purposes of irrigation, are 1st, by carrying a portion of the stream through a channel having a less fall than the surface of the country, till it has attained a level above that of the adjoining land; and 2nd, by damming up the river. I think there is no possible way of raising the water in low freshes for the Tanjore district, except by having recourse to the second plan, and I am confident that this will be found to be both feasible and unobjectionable." In these words is contained the germ of all the writer's future life-work

After mentioning the different channels to be supplied, which need not here be named, Captain Cotton proceeds to say:—"It is evident that, if the plan of an annicut (the first time this now familiar word is used by him) is adopted in one place, some arrangement must be made for supplying other channels, because the upper annicut will cut off the supply from the lower channels. The following arrangement might be made. 1. An annicut across the Coleroon from the head of Seringham. 2. A second annicut would be required at the head of the Vuddavans (to lead the water to two taluks in the District of South Arcot). For the annicut across the head of Seringham, I should recommend a brick dam coped with stone, the

crown of it three feet above the deep bed of the river. The three points to be examined respecting this work are : 1. The effects upon the river. 2. The expense. 3. The results that may be expected, as respects improved irrigation."

"1. In high freshes its main effect will be, by raising the surface of the water, to increase the danger of the banks being overtopped. This, however, will be much less than might at first be supposed. In low freshes it will throw a large body of water into the Kavari, or any portion may be let back into the Coleroon by the under-sluices, at pleasure. The effects of the dam, if quite complete, would be also to raise the level of the bed of the river, which might easily be obviated by making under-sluices in the dam. The next effect will be to cut off the waters of the river from the cultivation below. This can be obviated in no way that I am aware of, but by making a second annicut for the South Arcot channels. 2. The first rough estimate was estimated at Rs 164,000. 3. The cultivation of Tanjore would be entirely secured, except in extraordinarily bad years. By far the greater part of the whole district would be made to produce larger crops."

"I will attempt to answer an objection that I have heard made, namely, that the finances will not admit of such expensive works. To this it may be answered that, if they will admit of the losses that the revenue annually sustains from defective irrigation, they can certainly bear such an expenditure as this. It must be recollected that a great part of the returns will be immediate."

In the following July, Captain Cotton again returns to this great subject. "After considering the case very many times," he wrote, "and, indeed, rarely passing a day without giving some attention to the subject, I feel satisfied that the construction of an annicut across the head of the Coleroon is the only effectual work for economizing the water during low and moderate freshes." After referring to the great waste of water in the Coleroon from its not being sufficiently under control, in consequence of which

a very great proportion escapes into the sea at the time that it is wanted for wet cultivation, he makes some calculations with regard to the expected benefits to be derived from the construction of the two annicuts. He then adds these words : " A very tolerable judgment may be formed of the prodigious effect of any work that would give the Government the entire command of the water as respects Tanjore. Its effect on Trichinopoly will be more complete, because the channels in that district bearing only a small proportion to the size of the river, their supply will always be abundant. This brings me to one of the principal advantages which the annicut will possess over any other work, namely, that it will almost entirely put an end to the disputes which have arisen between Tanjore and Trichinopoly " about the distribution of water. Captain Cotton was here referring to the unseemly contests which occurred between the ryots of the two districts, and which led almost every year to serious breaches of the peace. It was no unusual thing to see the two Collectors at the spot, attended by thousands of the people, the one party protecting, and the other attempting to destroy, the temporary works of irrigation.

We think that sufficient extracts from Captain Cotton's first most interesting Reports have been made to show the nature of the new works which he proposed and of the benefits expected from them. They give, in fact, a forecast of all his future plans and projects in the great field of irrigation. Perhaps a brief summary of the abovementioned scheme may serve to make the whole project stand out clearly in the reader's memory. The principal work was an annicut to be placed across the head of the Coleroon for the purpose of turning that river into the Kavarî on the right, and giving an abundant and regular supply of water to Tanjore, the garden of South India, and also of fully irrigating the district of Trichinopoly on the left. A second annicut was to be built seventy miles lower down to arrest the water still flowing along the Coleroon, and to irrigate the taluks of South Arcot.

These two works, both a portion of one grand scheme, were constructed at just the most opportune time. The cultivation of the land under the rivers, in that year was very doubtful; the freshes in the rivers and the north-east monsoon having failed; but the effect of the new works was at once felt with magical rapidity. Direct loss to the people and to the revenue was expected. All this was providentially averted. The new annicuts were thus built at a most critical time, and were the means of saving the people from terrible distress. But this was only a fraction of the benefit caused to that portion of India. It was calculated by Major Jasper Bell that, after deducting the original cost of these annicuts and the amount since spent on repairs to them, the returns down to the year 1881-82 showed the immense annual profit of 69 per cent forty-six years after their construction. It is not the bare profit in money, however, that has to be considered. We must remember the happiness, the prosperity, the comfort, the improvement in their mode of living, which were bestowed on the people themselves. "Simple and natural as this scheme may now appear," wrote Colonel Sim, who, three years after these annicuts were built, was deputed by Government to report on the whole scheme, "No one previously to Captain Cotton thought of recommending it, and it was attended by a degree of responsibility and risk which few would have voluntarily undertaken. For the talent and judgment displayed by Captain Cotton in his patient investigation of the causes which were affecting the rivers in Tanjore, and for the boldness with which he proposed and carried into effect what appeared to be the only remedy, he is entitled to the highest praise."

We add to the above another passage in Colonel Sim's Report, dated July 16, 1839, because it is equally applicable to the works inspired by Captain Cotton in subsequent years. "In determining the expediency, or otherwise, of these annicuts, it is not fair to consider the extended cultivation and increased revenue only, which they are expected to produce. This, though large and apparently sufficient

of itself to warrant the expenditure, is by no means the chief argument in their favour. Their primary object was to improve and render more certain the irrigation of the land already cultivated, the crops of which generally suffered seriously, and frequently perished to a considerable extent from the insufficient and decreasing supply of water, in consequence of which it has become necessary to grant almost every year large remissions to the cultivators. To arrest this evil, and furnish to the people the means of bringing the whole of their crops to maturity in ordinary seasons, is an object itself sufficiently important to warrant even a far greater disbursement in a case where an annual revenue of forty lakhs of rupees is at stake. They are unquestionably the works of the greatest importance which have been undertaken for the encouragement of agriculture in this part of India since the Carnatic came under British rule, and are, I trust, the first step towards the gradual introduction of a better system of irrigation throughout the country—to Captain Cotton belongs the entire merit of this first step."

We may add our belief that the benefit which would thereby be afforded to the people themselves was the foremost thought in the mind of Captain Cotton, when he conceived his daring scheme.

We now proceed to give a brief account of the annicut across the Godavery, which is the greatest monument of Sir Arthur Cotton's skill, and on which his fame will most securely rest. When he returned from his visit to Australia, he left the far south of the peninsula, being appointed Civil Engineer of the first division, which then included the three most eastern districts of the Madras Presidency, namely, Ganjam, Vizagapatam, and Rajahmundry. Through the last-named district flowed the beautiful river, the Godavery. It was at that time a neglected and impoverished district, which had suffered very severely in the appalling famine of 1832-33. Its sad condition caused the Government of Madras to send one of its best officers, Sir Henry Montgomery, to inquire

into the reason for its rapid decline, and to suggest the necessary remedies for arresting its downward course. In March, 1844, he sent in his report. Among other causes of the decline of prosperity he mentioned the neglect of the existing works of irrigation. He had been Collector of Tanjore, and had seen the great improvement in that district owing to the works on the Coleroon, so he suggested to the Government that they should obtain a report on the whole subject from Captain Cotton, who had done so much for Trichinopoly and Tanjore, and that they should see whether some greater use than had yet been the case could not be obtained from the Godavery. Accordingly Major Cotton, as he had by this time become, reported in August, 1844, at the request of the Government, on the subject of the irrigation of the district. In this report he gave his opinion that the district might be thoroughly irrigated by an anicut being thrown across the river above the town of Rajahmundry, and estimated the cost at sixteen lakhs of rupees. In another report, dated April 17, 1845, he entered more fully into the scheme and made further estimates. The entire project was intended to provide not only for the building of the anicut, which as he now proposed, was to be thrown across the river at Dowlaishwaram, five miles below Rajahmundry; but also for locks and irrigation channels, and for navigable canals. Major Cotton laid great stress on the necessity for navigation, so that the produce of the district might be easily conveyed from town to town and especially to the ports. The Marquis of Tweeddale, who was then Governor of Madras, entered heartily into the scheme, and strongly recommended it to the Court of Directors, who, in December, 1846, gave it their approval.

No sooner was this sanction received than the work was begun with energy and zeal. It was necessary, in the first place, that preparations should be made. Material had to be collected. Coolies and workmen had to be gathered together. Supplies had to be stored. Sappers and Miners were stationed at Dowlaishwaram to assist in

carrying on the great work that was about to be commenced. A short railway for carrying stone from the quarries was laid down. The little village of Dowlaishwaram, planted amid the low rocky hills, from which the stone used for building the annicut was taken, was converted into a bustling town. Perhaps, it would be as well at this point to give a brief description of the work which was about to be undertaken. The part of the river where the annicut was to be built is situated just at the head of the delta, and it is there divided into several branches. It is a little less than four miles in breadth, and it is separated by three islands into four sections. The plan was to erect strong dams from the left bank of the river to the adjacent island, and, from island to island, to the right bank. Head-slucies and locks for the purpose of regulating the discharge of water for irrigation and navigation were to be placed in the proper places, so that the canals and channels might be filled. The water coming down the river would thus be stored behind the dams and the islands for use at the season when it was wanted, instead of the greater part of it being permitted to run uselessly into the ocean. The total length of the annicut was two miles and a quarter or 3,956 yards, the length between the left bank of the river near Dowlaishwaram and the first island being 1,624 yards, while the length between the other islands was 954, 516, and 862 yards respectively. There were also embankments across the islands. These distances are given to show the gigantic nature of the work. This, moreover, was all to be done with the unskilled labour of coolies and with comparatively primitive tools. No such enterprise had yet been undertaken in India. Major Cotton, however, felt satisfied that it could be done, and no difficulty daunted him. He was admirably supported by an able and enthusiastic staff of officers, who fully trusted him. The Sub-Collector also, Mr. Henry Forbes, whose services were granted for the purpose, gave hearty and valuable help in obtaining material and supplies.

The work was begun in earnest at the commencement of the working season, that is, the dry months before the setting in of the monsoon in 1847-48. It was impossible to finish it before the first fresh came down the river, and this caused damage and delay. Major Cotton had hoped to have completed the four divisions of solid masonry before this, but he was compelled by ill-health, brought on by anxiety and hard labour, to leave for England, and to entrust to others the work he loved so well. Captain Orr, who had been his zealous helper from the beginning, succeeded him and acted for him during his absence. He left in June, 1848, and returned in about two years.

Meanwhile, the Court of Directors, alarmed at the increasing expense, which had far exceeded the original estimate, ordered a Committee of experienced Engineers, to whom Mr. Forbes, the only Civilian connected with the works, was joined to report on the actual condition of the enterprise. This Committee met and recommended a large increase of expenditure. They ended their report with the following sentences —“ Reviewing their inspections and investigations, they are constrained to record their very high opinion of the science, practical ability, and indefatigable labours of Major Cotton. It is scarcely possible to place his qualifications as an Engineer of hydraulic works higher than they stood before; but the Godavery annicut is a new and splendid illustration of the powers of his mind and self-devotion, from the exercise of which the country has already so largely benefited.”

Colonel Cotton, as he had then become, returned near the end of 1850, and found the work had been carried well forward, though it had been severely tried by high-floods. He at once resumed his hard and unremitting labour. On April 14, 1852, he was able to report the virtual completion of the annicut. We think that we ought to quote the devout and grateful terms in which he acknowledged this great event, the fulfilment of so many hopes and the consummation of such arduous labour. “ Can we see this large and important work,” he wrote, “ calculated so

substantially to promote the real comfort of a million people, thus brought to completion through so many difficulties and contingencies, without heartily acknowledging the goodness of God, in thus prospering us and bringing the project so far to a successful issue? . . . May we not hope that its accomplishment, with the abundant effects which have already resulted from it 'to the district, will lead to the adoption of such extensive works for the improvement of the country, and the promotion of the welfare of the people entrusted to our care, as will lead to an increasing appreciation of a Christian Government? There is nothing that the Indians more thoroughly appreciate, after peace, than public works, and especially those that furnish them with water. And I cannot but trust that this is only the beginning of a series of works worthy of our nation, our knowledge, our religion, and the extraordinary power God has been pleased to put into our hands. I say, our religion; because I am sure it ought to lead us to do our utmost in every way for those who are thus committed to us." The Government, on the receipt of this final report from Colonel Cotton, heartily congratulated him and the officers associated with him on the completion of this great undertaking, which had occupied about four years and a half in construction. Care also was taken to reward the chief Indian overseer, Vinam Viramma Garu, who was promoted to be a sub-Engineer with the title of Rai Bahadur, and of whom Colonel Cotton wrote in the following terms of praise "I cannot say less than that, if we had not found an Indian of his remarkable qualifications, I do not see how the work could have been executed, for no European could have supplied his place, and no Indian like him has appeared." He thus showed his desire to award praise wherever it was due.

Although the annicut was completed, and the whole plan of this grand design was fully revealed, yet much has had to be done to it since, even to the present time, by way of strengthening, repairing, and utilizing it. But

there is no need to mention such works in this brief narrative. The annicut did not, however, stand alone. It was part of a large and comprehensive scheme, reaching to every part of the district below it. There were irrigation canals and channels all over the delta, many of which were dug long after the annicut itself was finished. It is quite clear that the work would have been useless unless the water stored in it was carefully distributed. Many of these canals were of great length. We cannot do more than mention them; but there is one work which cannot be passed over without notice, because it was one of the most noteworthy in the whole scheme. This was the Gannavaram or Gunnáram aqueduct. It was built for the purpose of supplying the large island containing the former taluk of Nagaram, which lay between two branches of the Godavery and the sea. This aqueduct consisted of forty-nine arches, each of forty feet span, all made of brick-work founded on wells. It brought the water from a canal near the head of the eastern branch of the river, over which it conveyed the water to the taluk. It was a work of great engineering skill, and was successfully constructed under special difficulties. It was built in only four months, and it was ready for water to pass over it in another four months. It was constructed by Lieutenant, now Major-General, Haig, one of Colonel Cotton's ablest officers, and the latter said of it: "I have always looked upon the Gunnáram aqueduct as the most extraordinary result of courage, energy, and skill in the executive to be found in any building in the world."

Some of the larger canals were intended for navigation as well as for irrigation, a point on which Colonel Cotton laid great stress. This not only enabled the people to convey their produce to the seaports for exportation, but to take it to the various parts of the district. "The navigation of the channels," he remarked, "formed part of the original project, and is indeed an essential part of any project for raising this neglected country to a state worthy of a civilized Government." The people also obtained

an easy means of passenger traffic, and, from that day to this, there have been several services of boats for the use of travellers. The principal navigation canals conveyed the public to Cocanada, Coringa, Nursapore, Ellore, and Masulipatam. "The irrigation of every acre," wrote Colonel Cotton in 1853, "and the navigation of every channel, are absolutely necessary, not merely advisable. They are necessary, if it is admitted that these eastern deltas are to be the granaries that are to supply those vastly more extensive countries which, being dependent on local rains and precarious seasons, have now no security from famine."

Soon after the completion of the annicut, Colonel Cotton left the Rajahmundry District on his promotion to the higher appointment of Chief Engineer of the Madras Presidency. Though not closely connected with the works, however, he still watched over and guided them in his new position. At this time there was a good deal of controversy about the expenditure, which had very largely exceeded the estimates. It was a time for him personally of much trouble and anxiety; but, perhaps, it is not necessary at this date, to go into these matters. It will suffice to say that supplies have been granted, from time to time, for the repairs and extension required. The works have been visited by Colonel Baird Smith, General Strachey, and other officers deputed by the Government of India, and they have always been regarded with pleasure and admiration.

The best testimony to their usefulness and to the power of their creator is contained in the fact of the benefit that has been conferred on the district in which they are situated. There is the greatest difficulty in ascertaining the exact extent to which the district has benefited, because the boundaries of the present district were altered some years after these works were, to a considerable extent, completed, and because it is almost impossible to ascertain the full expenditure on the works themselves and on their repairs. Mr. Walch, author of "The Engineering

Works of the Godavery Delta," gives the statistics of the revenue, for each decade, from the "Godavery District Manual," with the continuation to 1894-95. It will be enough if we here give the totals —

YEARS.	REVENUE.
1823-24	Rs. 21,84,747
1833-34	„ 26,91,719
1843-44	„ 17,25,841
1853-54	„ 24,60,463
1863-64	„ 42,42,295
1873-74	„ 52,61,918
1883-84	„ 61,71,688
1894-95	„ 88,21,322

This will be sufficient to show the very great increase from all sources of revenue since the irrigation works were prepared. The land revenue and water-tax were, of course, the chief items. In 1832-33 the district suffered very severely from the appalling famine which decimated the Northern Circars, and much distress was felt from adverse seasons, famine, and cyclones for some years afterwards. When Sir Henry Montgomery was sent to make special inquiries into the condition of the district, it was at its lowest ebb of decline. There is no doubt that the district has increased greatly in prosperity. Several causes have contributed to this happy result, but the principal cause has undoubtedly been the free supply of water given to it by the works planned and carried out by Sir Arthur Cotton and his trusted lieutenants. The "liquid gold," as the precious fluid, water, has felicitously been called, has brought to the parched land the blessings of fertility and abundance.

As the passage with which the writer of this sketch concluded his History of the Godavery District has frequently been quoted in this connection, he may be allowed to repeat it once more. The annals of this district, since it came under the English Government, form a varied record of temporary depression and subsequent improve-

ment. At the commencement of our rule, it constituted a portion of a neglected province ; and, at one time, it was, from various causes, brought into a state of extreme impoverishment and distress. It was desolated by famine, and misgoverned by the land-owners. Since the introduction of its admirable system of irrigation, however, it has brightened and revived. Famine is unknown. The people are prosperous and contented. It is the garden of the great Northern Province. Its revenue has expanded and is more elastic than ever ; its population is nearly treble what it was reckoned to be in 1821 and quadruple what it was said to be in 1842, the material prosperity of its inhabitants is proved by their being better fed, better clothed, and better educated than formerly, its commerce has flourished, and its trade has developed to a marvellous degree ; and it may confidently be asserted that it is in as peaceful, happy, and prosperous a condition as any part of Her Imperial Majesty's dominions. Mr Walch, who, from his professional position, must have known the effect of recent famines, says that these words are no less true now than when they were written. "Still," he writes, "is famine unknown in the District, for famine in India is born of prolonged drought, from the effects of which the delta is secured by the abundant water poured over it from the Godavery. And not only is the District thus secured against scarcity in itself ; but it is enabled to send largely of its superfluity of food-grains to less favoured districts." All this is chiefly, though not entirely, due to the great work of Sir Arthur Cotton, whose name used to be, and, we have no doubt, still is, cherished in the household converse of the people, and in their popular songs, as one of their best and truest benefactors.

Before we proceed to consider other events in Colonel Cotton's life, we think it well to mention similar schemes which, though not carried out by him, yet owe their origin to him, and were indebted to his supervision, counsel, and advice. The first is the annicut built across the river Kistna. In fact, this scheme and that of the Godavery

may, in some respects, be regarded as one, the whole system for irrigating the two deltas being linked together by a canal. On the other hand, the system was divided soon after it was completed, by the separation of the three districts, Rajahmundry, Masulipatam, and Guntoor, into two districts named respectively Godavery and Kistna after the rivers flowing through them. The annicut across the Kistna at Bezwada was constructed by Captain, afterwards General, Orr, who was Colonel Cotton's right hand man on the Godavery works, and who, during his absence, was for two years in charge of them. This scheme has, like that of the Godavery, been of the greatest benefit to the district, preserving it from famine, and rendering it fertile and prosperous.

Colonel Cotton also assisted with his professional advice those who were engaged in constructing similar works, though not under the Government of India, such as the annicut across the Tungabudra above Kurnool, which was built by one of his brothers for a private company; and that across the Mahanadi near Cuttack, which was constructed for the Madras Irrigation and Canal Company by General Rundall, who was one of his trusted Lieutenants at Dowlaishwaram. The Government itself undertook minor works of a similar character, such as the annicut across the river Pennéru near Nellore. There is no necessity, however, to enter into details regarding any of these schemes; but we mention them because they were all due to Colonel Cotton's skill and to his indefatigable zeal in the cause of irrigation. The graceful words of the Government of Madras written on May 15, 1858, when Sir Charles Trevelyan was the Governor, will form a suitable close to this portion of his career. "If we have done our duty," it was said, "at least to this part of India, and have founded a system which will be a source of strength and wealth and of credit to us as a nation, it is due to one master-mind which, with admirable industry and perseverance in spite of every discouragement, has worked out this great result. Other able and devoted

officers have caught Colonel Cotton's spirit, and have rendered invaluable aid under his advice and direction. but for this creation of genius we are indebted to him alone. Colonel Cotton's name will be venerated by millions yet unknown when many who now occupy a much larger place in the public view will be forgotten; but, although it concerns not him, it would be for our own sake a matter of regret if Colonel Cotton were not to receive due acknowledgments during his own life-time."

We return to the narration of previous events. We have stated that, in 1852, Colonel Cotton succeeded to the appointment of Chief Engineer at Madras, when all the various schemes in the Department of Public Works in the Presidency came under his supervision, and, foremost among them, were the various works of irrigation. He was unable, however, to remain long in charge of this appointment on account of renewed ill-health. He was obliged to revisit England on sick certificate, and he accompanied Mrs. Cotton and their children thither in the year 1854. After a pleasant sojourn of two years in his native land, he returned to Madras. He then received the appointment of Commandant of the Madras Corps of Engineers; and, although the office of Chief Engineer, under whose superintendence all the public works in the Presidency were technically placed, was held by another, he continued practically to be the great authority on all matters connected with irrigation. During this period of his service, he was, from time to time, called upon to report on various projects in this department. In 1857-58 he inspected, at the request of the Government of India, the delta of the great river Mahanadi in the province of Orissa; and, finding that this region was quite as well adapted for extended irrigation as the deltas of the Godavery and the Kistna, he recommended a similar scheme for its complete irrigation. He was also requested to report on plans for the better irrigation of the delta of the Ganges in connection with the construction of an ancient across that river at

Rajamahall, as well as the supply of water for Calcutta. He further reported on the Ganges Canal in the North West Provinces, which had been planned and carried out under another great Engineer, Sir Proby Cautley, who made objections to some of the criticisms on his plans which had been made by Colonel Cotton in his report. It appears, however, that the latter's remarks were just, and that his main objection to the head of the canal being on high ground, instead of in the plain, was well founded.

Colonel Cotton finally retired in 1861. On his arrival in England he had the honour of being entertained at a public banquet in London, and he received the distinction of Knighthood. Afterwards, when the order of the Star of India was founded, Sir Arthur Cotton was among those who were first named as Knight Commander of the new order. In 1863 he again visited India in his private capacity. His chief object in this visit was to inspect for himself the scheme of irrigation designed by Colonel Dicken for North India. On this occasion he also visited the Ganges and the other great rivers in that part of India, on which irrigation works had either been begun or projected. "In connection with those works," wrote General Rundall, "he earnestly pressed the desirability of creating a long line of water communication which would unite all the existing inland lines from the north to the southernmost point of India. This suggestion was deemed to be 'wild and impracticable'; but, seeing that since then the identical policy has been followed by the construction of Government railways at a much greater outlay, it is difficult to see wherein the 'wildness and impracticability' of Sir Arthur Cotton's suggestion consisted."

After Sir Arthur Cotton's return to England, and during the many years of his vigorous old age, he spent his time in various good works, but the benefit of India by means of irrigation always occupied the foremost place. Before mentioning some of his writings and acts on this subject, we think it well to mention the principles which he advocated,

taking the description of them from the writings of an Engineer officer who had served under him in India. His principal ideas were :

“1. To establish canals of irrigation wherever they were practicable, and to supersede rain and well-water by river-water, which carried with it fertilizing matter which greatly augmented its value.

2. To render irrigation canals navigable, and to establish thousands of miles of canal, fit for steam boats to carry the immense amount of produce which could not be moved for internal use or for exportation, but by the cheapest mode of transit, which could be effected by water alone.

3 That the profit of irrigation works to the Government, though of much importance, should be considered secondary to the benefit of the people in crop and transit, and in their power to contribute to the revenue obtained from other sources in consequence of their increase of wealth

4 That the expenditure on public works should be kept entirely distinct in the accounts from every other, and should be derived from a separate fund under the management of a qualified Board ”

As we have already given extracts from Sir Arthur's first report on the subject of irrigation, so as to show the way in which his mind was first led towards this great enterprise ; so we think that the best way in which we can show the manner in which he advocated this cause even to the very last is by giving extracts from his pamphlets. We shall thus enable him to place it before our readers in his own words. In some parts we may not be able entirely to agree with him, as, for instance, in his total condemnation of the railway system in India ; and, therefore, it is all the more necessary that his own arguments should be given produced in his own fashion, so that, as we are writing a brief memoir of him, the true character

* *Addiscombe : its Heroes and Men of Note.* By Colonel H. M. Vibart, Royal (late Madras) Engineers

of the person whose life we are considering may come out more clearly. With the strong advocacy of irrigation in India wherever it can be undertaken we are heartily at one with him; and we believe that there is no surer way to prevent famine and to benefit India than the extension of irrigation works

The first pamphlet from which we quote was published in 1877 after the great famine that afflicted Southern India. "We have had," Sir Arthur wrote, "in the past session of Parliament, four discussions on the subject of India, in all which the most terrible visitation that has occurred in our time, the present famine, has been the most prominent point; but, in all, the word 'water' has, I believe, never once been mentioned. Most assuredly, then, our first inquiry is, what can be the reason of this omission? There must be some most tremendous pressure that could force the officials carefully to avoid any allusion to the one thing upon which all depends in the matter. The slightest hint of the subject of water might have led to the dangerous question, what becomes of all the water? The moment the question is started we come upon the fact that one single river in the peninsula pours into the sea in a single day, 5,000 million cubic yards of water, enough to produce rice for two millions of people for a year. It does not take five minutes' investigation to prove that the sole cause of famine is the refusal to execute the works that will give us the use of water that is at our disposal. It must be acknowledged that something has been done in this way of late years, and happily quite enough to prove everything that we require to know in order to enable us to come to a sound conclusion as to whether we should proceed boldly with the undertaking. There are now twelve vast works, each capable of irrigating from half a million acres to two millions, either in actual operation or far advanced; but these works are all in detached patches as they were pressed upon Government by subordinate officers, without any general plan. When railways were undertaken, a complete project for

all India was sketched out by the supreme authorities, and not isolated patches.

The very first thing to be done is to obtain the appointment of a commission. When the country is called upon to contribute funds from private sources, what can be more legitimate than that they should have a voice in the application of it, and that it should not be left in the hands of the authorities . . . Can there be a more reasonable demand that a Famine Commission should be the very first step in the movement that is now making to relieve this vast population under the most awful calamity that could befall them ?

He then proceeds in the pamphlet from which we are quoting to advocate not only more extensive irrigation, but also canals for navigation. The following gives in one sentence his great scheme for all India — "Only unite the Ravee, the Sirhind, the Ganges, the Lower Ganges, the Sone, the Orissa, the Godavery, the Kistna, the Tungabudra, and other canals together, and supplement them with those that are necessary to complete the network of cheap carriage throughout India, and the increase of wealth that would accrue, is far beyond all estimate." He concludes with the policy which he urges the authorities to adopt.

First That an independent Commission should be appointed, composed of such men as will satisfy the public that there will be a real investigation of the question of Public Works in India with reference to their bearing upon the finances, the health, the famines, the opium and salt taxes, and the general well-being of India.

Second. That there should be formed a permanent Committee of the most complete kind to manage the finances of that department, keeping them quite distinct from the general finances, so that we may see clearly the actual results, not only upon the treasury, but also upon the country generally.

Third. That we have abundant proof now before us that India offers an unbounded field for the capital, energy,

and philanthropy of England in the way of material improvement."

The next extract we take from a pamphlet entitled, "Prevention of Indian Famines," published just twenty years after the last-quoted pamphlet. This was written in 1897, the year in which another terrible famine desolated India, and the quotations we propose to make will show that Sir Arthur Cotton still cherished the same idea that the extension of irrigation, and communication by canal, were the true remedies for these appalling scourges. The extracts which we make give the principles of his proposed policy and not his arguments and calculations. "The fundamental point I urge," he wrote, "is that water is India's great treasure, and all its future depends upon this being investigated. The sole cause of all present difficulties is the refusal to deal with this question. What I insist upon is that there should be in the India Office, as one of its main departments, a Department of Irrigation and Navigation, with an able man at its head, who is fully determined to carry out its duties to a successful issue, with a professional helper who is capable of conducting its operations."

The work to be done in this department is to go thoroughly into the subject —

1 To calculate the amount of rich monsoon river water now running waste into the sea, with all its immense load of plant food

2 To examine the country, and ascertain roughly what extent of land is capable of having this water distributed over it, within certain bounds of expenditure, always keeping in mind that this is not a question of rupees, but essentially of life and death

3 To look over the country for sites for large reservoirs to store the abundant monsoon water, and keep it ready for the dry season

4 That in the first instance rough estimates should be made of the cost of many such works all over India.

5 That the country should, in the same way, be

examined with respect to navigation, as to what important main lines that are practicable, exist, so as to form a network of essential cheap lines of communication.

6. That the whole of India should then be examined to see what branch lines could be executed in connection with those main lines."

"This whole system of works must be in the hands of men who are in earnest, and really mean to carry it out in spite of mistakes and failures, as the Godavery works have been. The three great irrigation works that are not yet paying interest to the treasury have in this respect failed solely because they have not been fully carried out; and, even in the case of these works, the benefit of them, even in respect of money to the treasury, has been immense, if the indirect increase of revenue is added to the water rates. The returns in money to the people are many times as great. But at this moment we have before us the inconceivable value of these works in the matter of life. It is most certain that millions of lives will be saved by them, imperfect as they are, in the present famine, to say nothing of the millions of money saved to the future revenue by the prevention of ruin to such a vast population. Think of those who are kept alive, left in millions, without capital, or even cattle."

I ought to add one point more, about which such absurd mistakes are made, namely, the difference in the kinds of water. There are five kinds —

"1. Rain water, which contains a little plant food; I believe.

2. Tank water, which has deposited the principal part of its fertilizing contents in the bed of the tank, but still carries a considerable portion in a state of solution.

3. River water of the dry season, which is almost pure, and is only beneficial in the way of moisture.

4. Monsoon river water, which is perfectly loaded with every thing plants require, so that the land to which it is applied is fully renewed, and will bear crops for thousands of years.

5. We hear constantly of the advantages of Well water. This is either pure filtered water, entirely without nourishment, or often so mineralized that it is fit for nothing; and for irrigation the cost of raising it fifteen feet is so great that its price is some twenty times that of rich river water, so that to speak of it as if there was no difference between the two is simply worse than nonsense."

Again, in 1897, Sir Arthur Cotton returned to the charge, after the famine of that year, when an eminent member of the Government of India gave a lecture on the subject. We make a few extracts from the reply to show that he still adhered to his own opinion, and expressed it rather strongly. "The vital question," he said, "is, whether we are really to abandon a large portion of India to certain famine from time to time, without any attempt at prevention, and merely attempt to meet the famine when it occurs" The question has never been put before the country in Parliament or in any other way. When it was decided in the Council of India to spend three hundred millions in attempting to meet famines, was there not one member of Council who stood up to say, 'Before we come to this desperate decision, can we do nothing in the way of further investigation of the subject' For instance, we have still living five or six old Engineers who have past their whole lives in the execution of public works. Is it not possible that they might have learned something that might be of use to us in this matter" We might have called together a committee of them, and put before them this question: 'In the course of your long experience, have you learned anything which might be of use to us in the terrible question which has arisen, whether it is impossible to prevent the recurrence of famine?'"

"Had this proposal been acted upon, the reply would certainly have been, 'The sole cause of famine is the absence of water, and there is no want of water in India in famine years, nor any want of land to which it can be applied at a practical cost. There are many districts in India, perhaps, twenty or one-ninth of the whole country,

which are at this moment secured from famine by canals cut from rivers which never fail and which still, in the very worst famine, pour into the sea rich water sufficient for many millions of acres, and nothing in the world is wanted but the extension of the system." Of all the great works executed by our Government in leading out upon the land the waters of the unfailing rivers—the Kavari, the Kistna, the Godavery, the Tungabudra, the Mahanadi, the Ganges, the Sone, and the Indus—only one, the Tungabudra, has failed to be of immense importance. All the others, so far as they have been carried out, have not only prevented famine, but have also yielded immense returns, not only in revenue to the Treasury, but by five or ten times that amount to the people.

" Surely this is a case in which a man is bound to speak out. Are we to be content with this state of things, as one which the rulers are not bound to consider and endeavour to counteract? And this when the remedy is as certain as could possibly be shown by the actual rescue of many districts in various parts of the country from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin permanently, and that not at a vast expense, but with enormous profits, repaying all costs."

He concludes this pamphlet as follows:—" If of the 350 millions sterling which the railways have cost in construction and loss of interest, one hundred millions had been spent on the essential lines from the great internal cities to the ports, there would have been left 250 millions, of which, if one-third had been spent on river irrigation, with steam navigation and storage of water, it would have effectually secured thirty million additional acres, providing for seventy millions of people, with some twenty thousand miles of steam-boat canals and forty thousand miles of less perfect navigable canals; it would have improved three or four thousand miles of river navigation, and fully provided for all the districts at present subject to famine; it would have set the finances completely afloat (as it is now in Egypt by the same means),

and have added 100 millions a year to the income of the people by increased value of produce, besides the incalculable gains from an immense internal traffic at rates that would have really met the needs of India; lastly, it would have saved many millions of lives of people who have perished by famine during the last forty years."

We think that we have by the above extracts sufficiently enabled the reader to understand very clearly Sir Arthur Cotton's views on this important subject, stated in his own words. We add only one more extract, for, even till the very last, the great subject of the water supply for India occupied his mind. So recently as the beginning of January, 1899, about half a year before his death, a letter from him appeared in the *Times* newspaper, from which we give a few extracts as his latest utterances on this matter. Referring to the words used by Lord Elgin on his retirement from the office of Viceroy:—"I deny that the Government is not giving proper attention to irrigation." And again, 'I will not draw comparisons between railway and irrigation works, and I do not do so when I claim, as one of the facts proved beyond a shadow of a doubt in 1896-97, that India could rely on her stocks of grain in a manner never before practicable, and in a manner which contributed above everything else to the triumph over the famine, and all this India owed to her railways.' This is all that is said about water in India. What I insist upon is that this is not 'giving proper attention to irrigation.' Not a word is said about some twenty or thirty districts which have not merely been helped in a partial manner when the famine was actually upon them, and that at an enormous expense, by taking away a multitude of the ablest men from other duties, who could not prevent the deaths of thousands and the complete impoverishment of millions; while in the irrigated districts not an individual perished, and, instead of poverty, the whole population were left in a state of extraordinary wealth by the sale of a great surplus at three times the ordinary prices. . . I must add that

Egypt has been entirely rescued from an apparently hopeless state of bankruptcy and poverty, and placed with the very highest of all other nations in point of finance, solely by obtaining from India experienced irrigation engineers, who have given her the full use of her one treasure—river-water."

One of Sir Arthur Cotton's amusements in his later years was to make experiments in agriculture. He took the greatest interest in growing various crops and vegetables in the pretty, but limited, compound round his house, and succeeded in raising wheat and Indian corn of great size. He also wrote on the subject and lectured on it. He asserted that there was certainly produced in his garden every year not less than five times what it produced when he began. The grand secret of success in agriculture was, he maintained, simply giving more air to the soil, that is, that the land should be ploughed so deep and so thoroughly that the air should reach the sub-soil.

"The conclusion," he wrote, "from what I have seen, is that there is hardly anything in the world on which capital is expended which makes as large a return as land." He who can tell me, he used to say, how to grow two blades of grass where one grew before, without double expenditure, is a public benefactor. Some hints from what he wrote on the subject might be taken by a nation of agriculturists as the Indians are.

Another subject in which he took an interest was the method of learning foreign languages. He felt that the proper way was for the learner never to pronounce even a syllable at first, except after hearing it pronounced by one whose mother-tongue he is learning, that few words only should be learned at a time, and that every variety of combination of these few words should be made and learned by heart. After a right beginning has thus been made, safe and sure progress is likely to be effected. At first the ear is the great instrument to be used in acquiring a foreign language, and afterwards the tongue and the hand will be able to play their proper parts. in other

words, great care should be taken to acquire a good pronunciation, and then, when this has been done, the learner can proceed to speak and to write. Sir Arthur Cotton wrote a little volume to recommend this system in learning Telugu.

In the year 1868 Sir Arthur settled at Dorking, about twenty miles south of London. It is a very beautiful spot, nestling at the foot of the Surrey hills, which here rise to some considerable height, and are very picturesque, the little town is surrounded by numerous villas, of various shapes and sizes, each situated in its own grounds. His house, which is called after the place of his birth, Woodcot, has attached to it an acre and a half of land, consisting of garden, wood, and field, just large enough for him to make those experiments in agriculture in which he delighted. Dorking was near enough to London to permit of his going there by railway, from time to time, to transact business or to engage in the philanthropic occupations in which he took an interest.

Some of these schemes ought to be mentioned. It was said by one who seems to have known Sir Arthur Cotton well, that he was adored, and even worshipped, by the people whom he had so much benefited. This friend stated that he was one day standing on a hill overlooking the Godavery, and observing a Hindu near, he asked him if he knew anything of the man who had done so much to fertilize the soil, bringing prosperity and happiness to so many millions. "Oh yes, sir," he replied. "We Indians for hundreds of miles round believe that the animent was made by an English god, called 'Cotton,' and, although European gentlemen say he was only an Engineer officer, few of us believe it. A holy Brahmin who came to see it years ago told us that, if it was not a god, who made it, he was a godly man, and one who would never die." Of course, it is well-known that Englishmen worship only one God, who, they believe, is the God of the whole earth, and that they serve no other gods. Sir Arthur Cotton was indeed an officer of Engineers, but he

was more than this. He was truly a 'godly man,' or, rather, a man of God, and his chief object in life was to serve and obey Him and to benefit his fellow-men. The word 'godly' accurately describes his character.

In the first place, Sir Arthur Cotton desired to serve God. He thoroughly believed the record which the great Father of all has given of Himself in His written Word—that is, the Sacred Scriptures, and he also thoroughly believed in Jesus Christ whom He has sent. He further believed the affecting story of redeeming love as it is given in the Scripture narrative, and he knew that men were not saved by works of righteousness which they have done, but by the free unmerited grace coming to them through the salvation of Christ by faith and "that not of themselves it is the gift of God." The knowledge and the enjoyment of these truths come from the Holy Spirit, who deigns to dwell in the believer's heart. This makes a man godly, and it also makes him happy and useful.

It had this effect at least on Sir Arthur Cotton.

It follows that, in the next place, he longed that all men should know these blessed truths. His efforts began in his own neighbourhood. Some years ago his daughter, now Lady Hope, started in the town what is called in England a coffee room, that is, a room where refreshment and amusement can be obtained, but no intoxicating drinks, and where the Gospel—the good news or glad tidings of salvation—is presented to the people in a simple and affectionate manner. Sir Arthur took the deepest interest in this good work; and, when his daughter wrote an account of it, he began her little book with a brief preface, in which he said, "When we see the needs of the working-classes more generally thus considered and provided for, we may expect nothing less than a national reformation. Though it must be acknowledged that there is abundance remaining to be done even here, the Word of God is felt by numbers who have not yet heartily yielded to it; and we may surely and confidently expect to see 'greater things than these.'"

Sir Arthur Cotton not only took a warm interest in the work which his daughter had begun; but he caused several rooms to be built for classes and meetings, and, as she says, his enthusiasm in such work as this was unlimited. "I remember his words to me once," she adds, "when I asked him if he advised me to take a short journey for the purpose of speaking to some poor people of Christ and His love. His reply was, 'I would like you to go to the North Pole, if it were to save one soul.'"

We cannot refrain from quoting the next anecdote related by Lady Hope, because it so fully expresses the spirit which animated him. "On another occasion," she writes, "I was walking with him down the town, where a very large number of working people were expected for our Sunday night meetings, and I was to give an address. I had already taken three or four classes that day, and I remember saying to him, 'I am so tired to-night, I really do not feel able to do my work.'

"Why," he said, 'what is the matter?'

"Well," I said, 'I feel so stupid that I do not think I can speak well enough.'

His answer was, 'Surely you are not more stupid than a post.'

"Well, no, perhaps not quite so bad as that," I replied.

And he then said, 'All you want is to be God's finger-post, pointing poor sinners the way to Heaven,—surely you can do that. And of one thing you may be certain, some will accept the message, and turn the right way; because God never wastes his people's time and strength.'

In this illustration Sir Arthur was referring to the very many sign or finger posts which are to be seen at almost every turning in England, and bear on the pieces of wood or fingers near the top the names of the towns and villages towards which they point. The message is thus silently given as to the way in which the traveller must walk or drive; so even the feeblest and weakest believer can point the way to Heaven.

Sir Arthur's sympathy in all that concerned the expan-

sion of the Gospel throughout the world radiated from Dorking in every direction. He took the liveliest interest in the Church Missionary Society, and often undertook, while health and strength lasted, short tours among the villages to stir up greater zeal in this important subject. His friend, Canon Christopher, recalling the time when he was himself an Association Secretary of this Society, writes; "How delightful it was to obtain from Sir Arthur Cotton his consent to attend with me a round of village meetings. He was not a man who reserved himself for important town meetings, he was just as willing to attend a village meeting as one in Oxford. It is a delightful thing to be in contact daily—morning, noon, and evening—with a man of real grace and love of the Lord's missionary work. A Church Missionary Association Secretary is a man to be envied, especially if he can secure as a co-deputation such a brother as Sir Arthur Cotton. A man whose faith has overcome the world in India will overcome it anywhere, and it is a helpful thing to be associated for a time in the Lord's work with a brother of very strong faith. By the grace of God Sir Arthur was what he was. And the same grace can make us love the Lord Jesus Christ and those for whom He died, as did the great benefactor of the poor and helpless people of the district of Rajahmundry."

"I can testify," wrote the same friend, comparing the waters of the canals and channels created in India with the water of eternal life, "I can testify that Sir Arthur Cotton had at least one other idea besides canals. It was this. He had the strong, assured conviction that the Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, came into the world to save sinners by dying on the cross in their stead, to put away their sins from the sight of God by the sacrifice of Himself. He knew that there is not so much as one poor miserable sinner in the whole of this lost world that shall ask of Him for living water and ask in vain. He knew for certain that his Lord's words would come true, "Whoever drinketh of the water that I shall give him shall never thirst ;

but the water that I shall give him shall be in him a well of water, springing up into everlasting life" (John iv. 14.) He knew for certain that every one who will come to the Lord Jesus in the simplest possible trust shall be made a channel of living water to others, for he could trust with all his heart these words, "Jesus said, If any man thirst, let him come unto me, and drink. He that believeth on me, as the Scripture hath said, out of his heart shall flow rivers of living water. But this spoke He of the Spirit, which they that believe on Him should receive." (John vii. 37-39.) Believers as channels of "living water," channels of the Holy Spirit, channels of all Gospel blessings to others whom God has made to thirst, this was a part of the second glorious idea that Sir Arthur Cotton had, in addition to life-saving canals of pure water constructed by a Christian Government to deliver from dire famine, and to make prosperous, loyal, and contented, the poverty-stricken Hindus and Muhammadans, our fellow-subjects in India. Tell me of the man who was possessed with these two ideas in union before Sir Arthur Cotton made manifest their power in India? He had noble fellow-workers. He had able followers. But God made him the leader and originator. His holy name be praised for the courage and determination given him. Such is the enthusiastic testimony to Sir Arthur Cotton's character and gifts written by a venerable friend. Another Society which Sir Arthur heartily supported was the Bible Society, the object of which is to circulate throughout the world the Holy Scriptures, and to translate them into every known language. He was President of the branch of this Society, and frequently advocated its claims to the sympathy and love of men.

Very few in modern times attain so great an age as Sir Arthur Cotton. Although it cannot be said of him as it was of the eminent lawgiver of Israel, Moses, when he attained a still more advanced age, "his eye was not dim, nor his natural force abated" (Deuteronomy xxxiv. 7), yet this was not very far from the truth. The failure of

his strength was very gradual. Though, on account of his deafness, he was unable to hear what was going on around him, he took the keenest interest in the various events of the day, and especially in those that related to the advance of the kingdom of God. Even so late as January, 1899, when he was in his ninety-sixth year, a letter from him on the one great subject which was uppermost in his thoughts, appeared in the *Times* newspaper. We have already made quotations from this letter, and only mention it here to show that the natural force of his mind was then not abated. In the quiet retirement of his dwelling at Dorking he was tended with the most delicate care, and it seemed as if life were prolonged by the loving attention bestowed on him. His life gradually and gently faded away; but as his daughter relates, his Christian brightness shone out clearly to the last. There was peace, perfect peace, till the end, and the infinite love of the Lord whom he had for so many years consistently served, sustained his spirit. He knew the appalling evil of sin, but he also knew that it had been completely put away by the all-prevailing sacrifice of the Son of God. "Sin," he remarked as he lay on his death-bed, "is an infinite evil, but God has provided an infinite remedy." No words could more clearly describe the essence of true Christianity as revealed in the Word of the living God, and these few terse words may well be taken as the dying message of this Christian benefactor of India to the people of this land. One morning he told those who were with him that "during the night he had received a manifestation of the atonement for sin, and the next night a revelation of God's righteousness provided for sinners." His last words were, "Grant me forgiveness for Jesus Christ's sake." Can we not each appropriately say in the words of a non-Christian and an unbeliever recorded in scripture. "Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his!" (Numbers xxiii. 10) He fell asleep on July 24, 1899, in the ninety-seventh year of his age.

No one who saw Sir Arthur Cotton would be likely to

forget him. Rather tall, spare, and even gaunt in figure, with a bright and intellectual face, with clear, wistful, penetrating eyes, his was a form which imprinted itself on the memory. But it was the mental and spiritual personality that left the most vivid impression. Most eager and enthusiastic regarding projects on which his mind was set, his genius overleaped all impediments and went direct to its objects, and he was as anxious to impress others with the capabilities and possibilities of his plans as he was himself.

There can be no doubt of the immense value of all the great irrigation works which were erected under his superintendence, and there can be doubt of his claim to be one of the most eminent benefactors of India. Even though we may not always agree with the whole of his statements in certain instances, yet we cannot help admiring the perseverance and energy with which he advocated his cause, and we feel that India would be sure to benefit, if only half the zeal he exhibited were thrown into works which must have the effect already produced in those that he constructed. Every river bridled and every weir built must make "a way in the wilderness and rivers in the desert," and reduce the ravages of famine and drought. The exquisite beauty of his life, however, was his godliness.

The security of England's loving hold on India is increased and strengthened by each life of piety and holiness which is seen in her. "The righteous shall flourish like the palm tree he shall grow like a cedar in Lebanon. Those that be planted in the house of the LORD shall flourish in the courts of our God. They shall still bring forth fruit in old age, they shall be fat and flourishing; to shew that the LORD is upright. He is my rock, and there is no unrighteousness in Him" (Psalms xcii. 12).

APPENDIX TO PAGE 29.

(Second line from top.)

Shortly afterwards a Famine Commission, such as Sir Arthur had suggested, was appointed. Its duties were to take evidence regarding the recent famine, which, it will be remembered, fell most heavily on South India, and to make a full report upon the whole subject. In this memoir we are most concerned with those portions of the Commission's Report which refer to irrigation, and we think it will be sufficient for this purpose if we give two or three extracts which bear upon this important question. The first is as follows — "There is no room to doubt that it is on direct State action alone that any reliance can be placed for the extension of irrigation. It is hardly conceivable that the intervention of capitalists, solely interested in earning the largest dividend possible, between the agricultural community and the water supply available for irrigation could ever be arranged on satisfactory terms, and the experience obtained from attempts in this direction, has convinced all Indian authorities that they should not be renewed. For the present at least the authority of public officers will certainly be required for the protection of the general interests, for regulating the distribution of the water and the management of the works, as well as the provision by the State of the funds required to establish irrigation works on any considerable scale of magnitude."

After referring to certain irrigation works in other parts of India, the Commission make these remarks concerning Madras. "The subject of irrigation in this Presidency requires a more comprehensive and systematic treatment than it has ever yet experienced. We have little doubt that it cannot be put on a satisfactory basis without increased expenditure, and the abandonment of many time-honoured practices and traditions. But without a policy of vigour as well as of judgment, irrigation in

Madras will not be brought into a condition in which it will supply to the country all those extremely great advantages it can confer, or afford the full protection against famine which can be obtained from it, and which in our judgment the British Government is bound to secure for the people ”*

Twenty years past by, and another appalling famine devastated the land, and, at the end of the year 1897, a second Commission was appointed by Parliament to consider the causes and the remedies of this desolating calamity. Sir James B. Lyall was the President. Again the vital necessity for more vigour in the construction of irrigation works was urged. We give a few extracts from this Report also, to show how true were the representations of Sir Arthur Cotton on his favourite subject. • After mentioning certain works which ought immediately to be completed, they proceed to say —“ In thus following the Famine Commissioners of 1880 in recommending an active policy in the extension of irrigation works, we recognise that, in one respect, the case is less urgent now than when they made their recommendations. There are now no large works which are certain to be remunerative awaiting construction or completion within the districts which are most liable to famine or in which the pressure of population is most severe. But all other reasons for such a policy hold good, and they are strengthened by changes in conditions which have occurred since 1880, namely, the great extension of the railway system, the growth of the export trade in grain, and the still greater rate of increase in population . . . One of the most remarkable features in the recent famine was the uniform level of prices all over the country, which is attributable to the ever-extending system of railways, and which, if it increased the area, greatly diminished the intensity of distress. By some it may be thought that the value of the latter result is much diminished by the

* Report of the Famine Commission in 1880. pp. 155, 165.

effect of the former; but, if new grain-producing centres can be established in districts which are themselves remote from all danger of famine, the railways which transport their produce to the regions in which scarcity and distress prevail will be an unimixed blessing to all."*

The Commission, in mentioning the works that had been constructed since 1880, had stated that "the result had been a great advantage to the State, regarded merely from the direct financial return on the money invested, and apart from their value in increasing the wealth of the country in ordinary years, and in preventing or mitigating famine in years of drought"*. They proceed to press the advisability of carrying on more productive irrigation works.

"The new works," the Commissioners wrote, "will therefore tend to reduce the pressure of future famines, and to counteract in some degree the effect of the growth of population, while at the same time adding in ordinary years to the general wealth of the country. Their construction may also be recommended as a financial investment, and as strengthening the financial resources of the State. We have already shown that the surplus revenue realized by productive irrigation works, after all interest charges at four per cent had been paid, amounted in 1896-97 to Rx 869,173. This was higher than usual on account of drought, but the actual surplus for 1897-98, was even higher, and when the stimulus afforded by famine has passed away the normal surplus will probably not be less than Rx 700,000, or nearly half the amount of the famine grant. If the new works are as profitable, taken as a whole, as those already constructed, a surplus revenue of £660,000 may be eventually anticipated, or in other words the nett direct financial profit on productive irrigation will be sufficient to meet two-thirds of the whole estimated cost of famine. The value of these works, and in a less degree of protective and minor irrigation works, in strengthening the financial position of the country may, however, be shown in another way. During the years 1896-97 and 1897-98, famine necessitated remissions of land revenues to the amount of Rx. 1,448,000, and there was

* Report of Famine Commission of 1898, pp. 388, 351.

great loss of revenue under other heads directly or indirectly attributable to famine. The remissions of land revenue and the whole cost of relief would of course have been infinitely greater if these works had not been constructed, but apart from the value of the works in this respect, the revenue earned by irrigation works of all kinds in these two years showed an excess over the normal of Rs 981,600 which has been directly attributed to famine. It is therefore a special recommendation of these works that while almost all other sources of revenue are certain to be largely reduced in years of famine, irrigation revenue may be expected to increase, while it will be short only in years of abundant and favourable rainfall, where there is an expansion of other sources of revenue consequent on agricultural prosperity."

Famine Commission Report, 1898, p. 352.

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